THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

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CHECK-BOOK INFLATION
Richard A. Lester

ROOTS OF AMERICAN HUMOR
J. De Lancey Ferguson

SOCIAL FACTORS IN REVOLUTION
Kenneth M. Gould

CAROLS AND CHRISTMAS MUSIC
Hugh Ross

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The American Scholar

PHI BETA KAPPA, the college honor society founded in 1776, precursor of all the Greek-letter societies in America, publishes THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR not only for members of ΦBK but for all who have general intellectual interests.

❖ ❖ ❖

THE old year now away is fled,
The new year it is enterèd;
Then let us now our sins down-tread,
And joyfully all appear:
Let's merry be this day,
And let us now both sport and play:
Hang grief, cast care away!
God send you a happy New Year!

The name-day now of Christ we keep,
Who for our sins did often weep;
His hands and feet were wounded deep,
And his blessèd side with a spear;
His head they crowned with thorn,
And at him they did laugh and scorn,
Who for our good was born:
God send us a happy New Year!

And now with New Year's gifts each friend
Unto each other they do send:
God grant we may all our lives amend,
And that the truth may appear.
Now, like the snake, your skin
Cast off, of evil thoughts and sin,
And so the year begin:
God send us a happy New Year!

—A Waits' carol, sung to the traditional tune, "Greensleeves,"
The Oxford Book of Carols. Courtesy of the Oxford University Press.

RENEWALS SUSTAIN LIFE

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The American Scholar

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Livingston Lord, "helpful giant," molded in scarcity and adversity, early learning the difference between good teaching and bad, whose "ability to alter states of mind, making goodness interesting and knowledge desirable," was poured with tremendous energy into the "most vital experiment of youthful America, public education."

Taught with Livingston Lord for many years; is head of the department of English at the Eastern Illinois State Teachers College; is now at work on a biography of Mr. Lord and would be grateful for any letters or anecdotes that may be contributed by those who knew him. Address: Charleston, Ill.

Carols and Christmas Music Today — Hugh Ross — 17

Those who have resurrected the beauties of musical folk-lore leave us today with significant questions: Should we not, finding that translations are poor mirrors for the originals, seek our Christmas music among our modern English-American composers; and can America, until it creates an indigenous celebration of Christmas, develop a carol music-lore?

Studied conducting with Adrian Boult and Albert Coates; appointed conductor, Winnipeg Male Voice Choir, 1921; conducted Winnipeg Orchestra, 1923–27; in 1927 appointed Conductor, Schola Cantorum, New York City; has produced for the first time in New York works of both ancient and modern composers. Address: 108 East 56th St., N. Y. C.

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A recommendation that is no cure-all but would eliminate such major currency evils as the creation of money (in the form of banking credit) by a private group rather than by the government, the over-expansion of bank money during booms and undue contraction during depressions and the tying of the supply of money to the demand for bank loans.

A member of the Treasury "sub-brain trust," appointed last summer to survey currency, banking, and revenue problems and to study the relation of credit and tax policies to business stability; now a member of the department of economics, Princeton; author of "A Critique of Our Colleges," AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Autumn, 1934.

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Acting Professor of English, Western Reserve University; editor of *The Letters of Robert Burns* (Oxford, 1931); author of articles in the literary reviews and scholarly journals. Address: Graduate School, Western Reserve University.

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In the hope of discovering whether we shall travel or escape the road to social revolution the author makes a survey of the various types of revolution, points out preliminary symptoms of unrest; analyzes the recurrent elements common to social revolutions; and draws analogies with conditions in America today.

In editorial work for eighteen years with varied organizations and magazines including American Journal of Public Health, Rockefeller Foundation, and University of Pittsburgh; since 1926 managing editor of the *Scholastic;* member of the Council on Social-Economic Education. Address: The *Scholastic*, 155 East 44th Street, New York City.

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A study of a philosopher dominated by intellect—Spinoza—who, dissociating moral purpose from the universe and thereby making it indifferent to man, brought man back into nature as a being whose blessedness must lie, not in reliance upon the efficacy of hopes and illusions but in contemplation of reason, necessity, eternal rather than human values.

Received his doctor's degree in philosophy at Columbia University; for the past few years has taught and lectured; is the author of *Cicero's Doctrine of Nature and Man.* Address: 570 West 172d Street, New York City.

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Rhodes Scholar; instructor in Government, Harvard; author of *Foreign Relation in British Labour Politics.*

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An "intellectual flame," "incomparable observer," "poet of science," whose life ran the familiar gamut of poverty, the will to achieve freedom for congenial labor, and in the final realization of the goal, tranquility.

Former editor, *Engineering Magazine;* special lecturer at Columbia and Harvard, 1909–15; author, among other books, of *David Wilmot, Free-Soiler.* Address: Lei Tres Mario, Cassis-sur-Mer, B. du Rh., France.

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NOTE.—Authors who wish manuscripts returned in case publication is not feasible should attach sufficient postage.

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LONG LIVE SANTA!

Not little children but adult materialists are fooled about Santa Claus. There really is a living Santa with an actual physical body. Have not the scientists persuaded us that all the world, including ourselves, is made of electricity or some such substance or energy? Being made of it, then, we know something of what it is like—we know that electricity can be a living conscious substance. We are simply eddies or peculiar configurations of electrons or ether waves swirling about deep within a vast ocean of similar electrons or ether waves. Our individualities consist in the peculiarities of our patterns in space-time.

But that is just what Santa Claus is—a configuration of electrons, waves, molecules, neurones, and the like in brains, books, pictures, lights, toys, smiles, happy Christmas wishes almost everywhere permeating the surface (including the walking and movable parts) of this earth—a pattern of living substance consistently active within a creative universe. The very historical routes of the particles of Santa's vast body give him a unity and individuality. He is like a great concept in the mind of God —but concepts have bodies. Santa is like an active system of neurones in the cosmic brain.

The vast and old concept of Santa which is at work in the world is not simply an intangible spiritual belief or idea but is as tangible as you or I, made of exactly the same bodily stuff. In fact, Santa and I have a portion of our bodies in common, for the neurones which he designed in my brain belong to him because his creative activity took possession of them. They represent his personality rather than mine; and yet they belong to me, too. Santa is not an ephemeral idea or a concept created by my thought, but an entity or being who forces himself upon me, determining my idea of him. Santa had a birth upon this earth as physical and real as that of any other person, although not in the reproductive manner of animals, and was cherished and nourished by poets and children until he became one of the most noted and influential of all personages. So he still reigns and will continue to reign unless killed by wrong treatment or neglect. After all, Santa's life and fate is fundamentally little different from yours or mine.

W. A. S.

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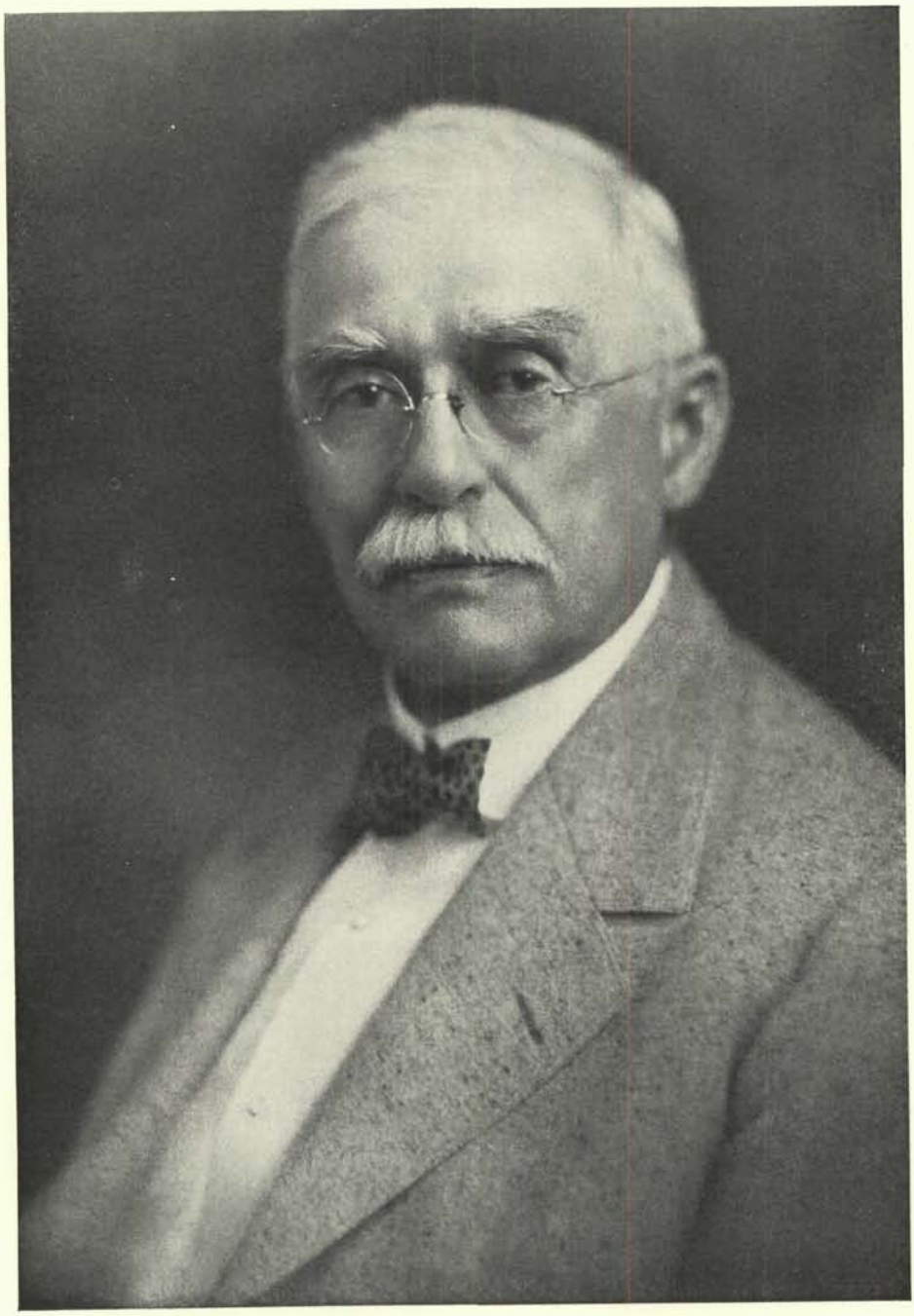

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An American Scholar

ISABEL McKINNEY

FREE should the scholar be,—free and brave." "He is Man Thinking." "This confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs by all motives, by all prophecy, by all preparation, to the American scholar."

In 1851, fourteen years after Emerson challenged the "spirit of the American freeman," "already suspected to be timid, imitative, tame," there was born, on a stony farm in southern Connecticut, a boy who in his 82 years on earth lived Emerson's words so completely that most of them read like a portrait. He was a graduate of no university, a member of no scientific society, yet he was, in Emerson's sense, a great American scholar. "Not out of those on whom systems of education have exhausted their culture comes the helpful giant to destroy the old or to build the new." The name of this helpful giant was Livingston C. Lord.

His was a singularly whole and steady life, flowing like a river, pouring all the springs of youth down one channel to the sea. It grew like a tree, spreading its first rings of life around its expanding heart, lifting the waters of its roots up to its topmost twigs. More than most men Livingston Lord took his first days with him to his last. His youth was hardened in adversity. "I was born," he said, "in the second half of the 19th century but grew up in the society of the first half," a society of candles and spinning-wheels, ox-teams and water-mills, strict Sabbaths begun on Saturday at sundown, a society isolated and retarded by poverty. To wring a living from those stony fields was difficult in the best of times. The devil, said local tradition, having gathered stones from the northern hills in his leather apron, was carrying them to the Sound but just as he strode over the future site of Killingworth his apron strings broke; only the devil, it

NOTE.—All quotations not otherwise identified are from Emerson's Phi Beta Kappa address, "The American Scholar," delivered at Cambridge on August 31, 1837.

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seemed, could have been responsible for those niggardly acres. To this heritage of toil and hardship from the blundering of man's ancient foe was added in Livingston Lord's boyhood a heritage of strife and sorrow from the blundering of man.

Killingworth, like all Connecticut towns, was torn by violent differences of belief. In the election of 1860 the "Copperheads" were barely outvoted; between sermons men came to blows in the meeting-house carriage sheds. At the news of the firing on Fort Sumter Livingston Lord's father, the kindest, most generous, and genial of men, was burning with indignation. A few months later, leaving his family on that stubborn farm, he enlisted in the Forty-second Connecticut Regiment. In the autumn of 1862 he died of a fever. Livingston Lord, then 11, was the oldest child. The next years were not happy ones for him. He missed his father terribly. Furthermore he must work hard to earn his share of food and clothes and shelter. And while his active body demanded quantities of food his active mind was even harder to satisfy. All he could find was not enough; school was nearly always a bare cupboard scarcely provided with a bone. Most of the teachers—the men in winter terms, the women in summer terms—were alike stupid, uneducated, untrained; some could not cipher beyond common fractions. What wits they had they used in devising ingenious punishments for unruly pupils who were driven to mischief by the deadly monotony of their days. Livingston Lord was among the most obstreperous but a few good books to read or a study to get his teeth into would have tamed him. Thus he early learned the difference between good teaching and bad. The teacher who lent him *Robinson Crusoe*, the one who gave him the "lay of the land in English grammar" during one winter term, he always remembered with gratitude.

Fortunately home could teach him more than school. His father had given him a love for music and a rich baritone voice. His mother with her dainty ways and love of perfection made him aware of many finenesses. She was deeply religious, too, feeling she could never have brought up her fatherless boys without prayer about each daily problem. She yearned for her oldest

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son's conversion in the spectacular revivals that swept Connecticut after the war, but the words of theology meant nothing to him: "to be born again," "to experience religion" implied something miraculous which he could not feel and would not feign, as he knew other young people did to escape or to please their elders, and he shrank from the loving pressure towards this incomprehensible Salvation. Yet his mother's Bible and God went with him into the larger life of his manhood. His grandmother, Marjorie Kelsey Lord, whose family cherished a tradition of scholarship and whose older brother, Eli, had distinguished himself at Yale, was the center of the home. Vigorous, upright, undaunted by poverty or toil or bereavement, she exercised her keen mind on the life about her and nourished it on the best of books. While she walked back and forth at her spinning she recited Milton and Pope or memorized new lines from a paper pinned up where she could snatch the words in passing. She corrected her favorite grandson's language: "Say 'It is I,' not 'It is me.' The same case follows the verb *to be* as precedes it."

Although Livingston Lord could almost see New Haven from the top of the meeting-house hill in Killingworth, although the first president of Yale College was an ancestor of his he never imagined going to Yale himself for he was too poor. When he was 14, having learned all that the district school could teach him, he went to work for a farmer in a near-by township for $4 a month and his keep. Then, after working on several other farms, he took a job in a small spool mill. He liked spool-turning and learned to do it well. Now he was tall and strong, with a mop of coal-black hair, a skin as dark as an Indian's, brilliant dark eyes, and a tremendous pent-up force in him—for what?

It was his mother, watching his growing powers with anxiety, who arranged for his further education at the New Britain Normal School. He was astonished—how could his mother spare even the little money for his needs—and he refused to go. After pleading with him in vain she fled to her room in tears. He yielded. "My backbone," he said long afterward, "was always soluble in women's tears." This was a fortunate surrender. From

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the moment in 1868 when Livingston Lord set his face toward New Britain until May 15, 1933 when his tired voice left off reasoning with an imaginary board of trustees, he poured his tremendous energy into the most vital experiment of youthful America, public education. At New Britain the boy found a good teacher who gave him respect for his calling, grounded him well in Latin, and after two years helped him to find a job. At Terryville in western Connecticut Lord conquered his first school, earned $1800 a year, learned to play the flute well, made life-long friends, and felt his way toward skill in his art. He also married a devoted wife, Mary Cooke. In the summer of 1873, year of crashing fortunes, the two young people set out hopefully for that land of vague promises, the West. Like many other adventurous and intelligent young Americans of that day these two chose Minnesota, then truly a frontier state.

There they lived hard. From the snug folds of the Connecticut hills they had come out on the unknown prairie. "I felt as if I were out of sight of land" Mr. Lord said. Here, unexpectedly, times were even harder than at home and he must work five years before his little salary matched the one he had left behind. He felt throttling poverty and loss of place; slipped down to the brink of death and crawled back again with a burden of debt; worked unnumbered hours a day, "worked like killing snakes"; learned much. "It went into him life; it came out of him truth." A schoolmaster in one or another little country town in a raw new land he drew to himself what he sought—the best. In Winnebago he read Shakespeare aloud with a group of friends; in Mankato he worked under a real scholar, A. F. Bechdoldt, whose German thoroughness was on fire with the love of learning; in St. Peter his flute brought him admission to a group of true musicians who played Handel and Bach together. With college graduates—live, eager, not disillusioned in those days—he talked the universe into order and night into morning. With one friend he translated Seneca on Sunday afternoons, often walking out on the prairie and reading on the sunny side of a straw stack. At Moorhead, S. G. Comstock, one of the most brilliant lawyers

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in Minnesota, was his friend; another friend was a hired man in a livery stable who told him stories of mail riders and of the Indians just vanishing over the horizon and also, while patiently waiting up till midnight for sweaty horses to cool before he fed them, showed him a spirit shaped into beauty and significance by honest work. Mr. Lord began to be sure that the passion for perfection is one of the main springs of character and the source of all true culture. Often he remarked, "I have never had to go far to find my superiors."

He was thinking hard, too. Almost unconsciously, out of experience, he was constructing not so much a philosophy of education as a way of life. And to him experience came from books as truly as from men. Books were, indeed, only men in print; in them he found that "one thing in the world of value," "the active soul." No man ever did more "creative reading." The thoughts of Emerson, Holmes, Matthew Arnold, Huxley, John Fiske, William James he devoured and turned into himself, passing by whatever in them was not his. Unlike the education of Henry Adams the education of Livingston Lord proved to be right, sufficient, harmonious, and enfranchising of his world because it was achieved through the pure love of knowledge and put to work promptly and inventively for others. He had both halves of Arnold's "culture"—not only the passion for the best but that second passion, so often forgotten, for making it prevail. The great thoughts of the philosophers were none too great for his daily task. "The main enterprise of the world for splendor, for extent is the upbuilding of a man." "I'd rather teach," he came to be sure, "than do anything else in the world. It's so much better to form than to *re*-form." He never let go a perfect instance, if he found or made one: his pair of examples for subjective and objective genitive—"bite of a snake, bite of an apple" —long afterwards helped to bring him his Harvard degree. A good question he considered more efficacious than a hundred preachments. "For instance?" was one of the best tools of thought, the best revealers of ignorance. Find the right words, he believed, and you can explain almost anything to almost any-

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body. If only they can be made to do it, people enjoy thinking. The activity in a class room should be mostly mental, not physical; a class thinking hard is never bored. The notion that scholarship begins where education ends[1] would have astonished him.

He began to be felt more widely. He woke sleepy audiences, stirred youthful ambition, tempted people to read and think, stiffened the backbone of certificating authorities, poured contempt on educational mountebanks and drowned them in it, made goodness interesting and knowledge a thing to be desired. As teacher, superintendent of schools, first president of the Moorhead Normal School, lecturer at county institutes, chairman of the reading-circle board, member of the state board for the certification of teachers, he poured his ideas and ideals, with immeasurable effect, into the forming life of Minnesota. "Not he is great," said Emerson, "who can alter matter, but he who can alter my state of mind." Mr. Lord altered the minds of teachers, children, young men and women, their parents. His sayings are remembered and repeated in farmhouses, village schools, streets and stores and colleges, from one end of Minnesota to the other.

All over the state and beyond, men came to honor him. President Eliot, Nicholas Murray Butler, found him out. When, after Mr. Lord had been ten years in Moorhead, the newly appointed trustee of a newly created normal school in Illinois read the letters of recommendation from Mr. Lord's friends, he discarded the rest of his trunkful of applications for the presidency and determined to have that man and no other for Eastern Illinois. And after sending for Mr. Lord he was more determined than ever. Though the trustee had some difficulty in persuading the political powers to choose a man from a remote region, he did succeed, and in September 1899 Mr. Lord began all over again in a new little school. Here for almost 34 more years he taught young teachers to think. He saw the enrolment grow from 200 students, mostly graduates of the eight-grade country schools, to more than 800 college students, mostly graduates of four-year

[1] See Glenn Frank's *Thunder and Dawn.*

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high schools. He saw his school change from a sort of academy with courses in teaching to a four-year teachers college, its work recognized and accredited everywhere, its alumni in almost every state of the Union and in many foreign lands.

But it was not growth in numbers or in position that chiefly interested him. In an age when "normal school" connoted flimsy courses in methods of teaching what the teacher did not know Mr. Lord stood first of all for thorough scholarship. At the first faculty meeting in Charleston he announced, "A teachers college should be a seat of learning." In gathering his faculty, handicapped as he was in the market by inadequate funds, he chose, whenever possible, promising young men and women of thorough scholarship, often drawn by his personality to accept positions in a kind of school which they had, perhaps, regarded with faint scorn. At the very outset he had to fight the political powers for his right to choose good teachers regardless of geography or of party alignment, but after two or three rounds he won the firm support of Governor Tanner. "I care no more for a man's politics than I do for the color of his eyes," Mr. Lord declared. "The question is, 'Can he teach?' " And for 33 years he kept the school almost entirely free from political interference. But that was only half the battle, for to find good teachers is never easy. First he insisted that a teacher must know something. "It is as professional to know the subject matter as it is to know the mind of the child," he was fond of saying. Next, a teacher must be skilled in his art for "We teach as we are taught," he said, "rather than as we are taught to teach."

His ability to judge good teachers made him known all over the country. To him it seemed the chief necessity for a man in his position, yet many a man in his position blandly refused the responsibility. When the president of another teachers college said to him, "I don't know what good teaching is," Mr. Lord raised an eye-brow and inwardly agreed. But the best teachers did not come ready-made. Patiently he kept on pounding the elements of the art into a constantly changing faculty—for he would not hold his staff back. John Paul Goode, late of the Uni-

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versity of Chicago, came to him first in Moorhead and followed him to Charleston; Henry Johnson, distinguished professor of history at Teachers College, New York, did likewise. Thomas H. Briggs of Teachers College calls Mr. Lord his greatest teacher; E. N. Transeau, head of the Department of Botany at Ohio State, L. D. Coffman, president of the University of Minnesota—these and many more carried their great teacher with them while he sought out their successors. Mr. Lord always disclaimed all credit for choosing or training these young men: "Just my luck," he said.

"The class room is the heart of the school," said Mr. Lord. "A school is organized that it may be instructed; it is governed to hold the organization together." "In two class rooms across the hall from each other are two teachers: one is not worth her salt, the other can never be paid enough; the public doesn't know the difference, and pays them both alike." When the Eastern Illinois State Teachers College was visited by delegations of examiners from various bodies, some of whom after due deliberation rated it Class A, Mr. Lord cheerfully supplied them with information about size of classes, teaching load, faculty degrees per capita, salaries, enrolment, cost of administration, curricula, text-books, publications, educational experiments, books in the library, magazines on the racks, extra-curricular activities, janitors, laboratories; then he remarked, "They find out everything except whether we have a good school or not."

But though his class room and the room where he met his faculty were vital, the heart of his school was the assembly room. Even if he had been unique in all America Mr. Lord would have continued to believe in "Chapel," to which, until the audience outgrew the room, everybody from first-grade children to college seniors came daily. Always there was a carefully chosen passage from the Bible—one of the wisdom chapters, perhaps, or a story from the Old Testament or the Apocrypha for its literary value. Mr. Lord read aloud as if the words were his own. But the most beautiful and poetic of the psalms he would never attempt, declaring he could not do them justice. In the tones of

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his rich and living voice hundreds of young people have carried with them the words that he loved best: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free"; "for Wisdom is more moving than any motion"; "Add to your faith virtue, and to virtue knowledge, and to knowledge temperance, and to temperance brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness charity." To many hearers these words and others like them *are* Mr. Lord. He read other things, too—from Kipling's "Elephant's Child" or Burns' "Tam O'Shanter" to William James on habit or William Kingdon Clifford on the clock of the universe. Most books on education were too badly written for his purpose here: "How can they be so dull?" he exclaimed. Generally he talked to the school, holding the desk with both hands, tapping the floor with his right foot, vibrating with energy. "If you were going into the woods and I offered you a hatchet or a knife, you would take it. This idea will be as useful to you in thinking as a knife in the woods." "Don't be afraid to know something you're not going to use before night," "Think, Think." Often his talk was lighted by his unfailing humor; always it was clarified and made alive with illustrations. He spoke of attention, habit, authority and authorities, subjective and objective limitations and point of view, teaching skills, faith in humanity, discipline, the disinterested search for truth, sacrifice and the attitude toward sacrifice. To illuminate and enforce his thought he laid his whole past life under tribute: the ox-cart and the long-lashed whip, the spool-turning, the rancor of Civil War prejudice, the Minnesota blizzard, the dreadful scourge of diphtheria epidemics.

Though the past was his quarry it was the masonry of today, always, that mattered to Mr. Lord and he lived in the present. Youth was always with him—young friends, young colleagues, young students, young ideas, challenged and attracted him. "It makes me sick to hear people talk about the good old days of the little red school house. I know." "The opportunities for young men in education were never so good as today." He loved life and believed in it—a faith that was the chief source of his power. "It is a mischievous notion," said Emerson in 1837, "that we

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are come late into nature, that the world was finished a long time ago. . . . This time, like all times, is a very good one, if we know what to do with it." Mr. Lord never quoted these words but he spoke their spirit every day, crying out again and again that now is the accepted time, and that the most worth while work in America today is the teaching of youth—not that it is paid in money, though on behalf of better salaries for better teachers (and none at all for poor ones) Mr. Lord fought unremittingly. But "A teacher's pay is in his work," he often said.

Honors came to him, and influence, wide and deep. In more than 90 of the 102 counties in Illinois and in some of them again and again he worked with teachers; to state and national gatherings he took his emphasis upon scholarship and skill and character. In the summer of 1931 in his 81st year he gave a course in New York, at the Summer School of Teachers College, for normal school presidents and superintendents of schools. In 1904 the University of Illinois gave him its L.L.D. and in 1927 Miami University made him Doctor of Education. In 1912 President Lowell of Harvard honored him with a master's degree for his services to education, "media nostra patria."

Although Mr. Lord always distrusted the generalizations commonly called the philosophy of education, denying that he had any, and never organized his knowledge into a text-book or his beliefs into a system, it may not be unfair to formulate, from his oft-repeated statements, a sort of creed by which he lived and taught:

1. I believe in *truth*, eager search for it, selfless surrender to it when found.

2. I believe in *knowledge*, in the power that comes from accurate knowledge, in the joy that comes from accumulating facts. "Know something." "Have you learned something today?"

3. I believe in *thinking*, in the necessity and possibility of training young America to think, in the "Moral Obligation to be Intelligent" as John Erskine has phrased it.

4. I believe in *wisdom*, a wisdom which grows out of knowl-

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edge worked over by thought, that reaches out into all human relations and up into the highest realms of the spirit, that is an attribute of God himself.

5. I believe in *people*, the good intentions of most people, in the preponderance of good qualities over bad, in the capacity for improvement. "Most people, most of the time, mean to do right."

6. I believe in *work*, faithful, responsible work, especially in mental work requiring effort and attention, as an indispensable builder of character. " 'Blessed be drudgery.' "[1]

7. I believe in *obedience*, as a practical necessity and as a road to freedom.

A year or two ago Mr. Lord expressed his final judgment of the supreme human values in remarks to two friends. One asked him, "If you had your life to live over again, would you change anything?" He replied, "I would be more kind." To another friend he said, "The more I think about it the more I am certain that *candor*, telling the truth, is the most important thing of all," and he added with a quick sidelong glance, "I've worked at that harder than some people might think."

It was easy to know Mr. Lord's likes and dislikes, for, as he confessed, "If I don't want to show any feeling, I've got not to have it." He liked good music, especially of violin and of orchestra; he despised jazz and saxophones and jingling hymn tunes. He liked Kipling and Burns, *Tom Jones*, all of Dickens (he could place almost any character), *Romola*, *The Newcomes*, Hawthorne, Samuel McChord Crothers, *War and Peace;* he disliked Jane Austen, Amy Lowell, could not care for *Silas Marner* no matter how he tried, and refused the more Freudulent moderns altogether. He disliked cocksure superintendents who talked about "MY teachers," and pompous educators who rattled their cuffs and declaimed about "character-training" and "expression of personality" and "The Child-Mind"; he liked all true teachers. He disliked all shoddiness, pretense and pretensions, large words for little things, muddling and inept-

[1] This quotation came to be almost his own; other quoted words are from the Bible.

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ness, mountebanks in all fields (and he had an uncanny way of recognizing them); he liked all honest workmen; he liked, and knew, good tools, good bindings on books. He liked neatness, accuracy, deftness; he did not suffer a fool gladly. He liked red roses and red tulips, a beautiful horse, prize cattle.

He liked his work and stayed with it to the end. During the last summer he spoke in five normal schools in New England; during the last winter he was welcomed back to the normal schools of Minnesota, gave addresses in many parts of Illinois, and some of his most masterly chapel talks. "Public education," he told his school, "has come into troubled waters. What shall we here do about it? We must do our work as well as we can." A few weeks before the end he said to the students "If I had only eight words to leave with you they would be these: 'Tell the truth, and don't be afraid.' If I could have eight more, I would say, 'Not who is right, but what is true.' "

Whatever is written of him his friends read and murmur, "Is that all?" He escapes from between the pages; he refuses to be still. The clasp of his hand, the light in his eye, the life in his voice who shall record? An inscription printed in a memorial booklet describes him truly, in words that few men have deserved —yet cannot capture him:

LIVINGSTON C. LORD
great believer
with hope unconquerable, with generosity untold,
finder and maker of the best,
bringer of light and fire to many minds,
master of the art of living,
wise, tender, full of kindness, full of joys,
enemy of sham and waste and ignorance,
lover of knowledge, lover of friends, lover of youth:
he gave new meaning
to the deep words he often spoke—
wisdom, courage, integrity, justice, beauty, goodness, truth;
he left these, with himself,
in the hearts of all who knew him
forever alive.

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Carols and Christmas Music Today

HUGH ROSS

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TO honor Christmas in this year of grace 1934 America can draw upon the musical treasures of many climes and many epochs. Ancient tunes have been salvaged, foreign texts translated, and every day new songs appear from the pens of contemporary poets and composers.

There are Christmas hymns[1]* and anthems marked by their devotional attitude and their measured rythmic gait; there are nativity plays resurrected for the American scene and others the fruit of modern, naturalistic piety[2]; and there are myriad carols of every form and description. There are modern carols, medieval carols, fake-Gothic carols[3], eucharistic, legendary, and macaronic carols with music that ranges from the gregorian through the modal and diatonic, and includes also chromatic examples.[4]

The finest carols however are found in traditional lure, set to tunes in the modal and gapped scales; for only the hardiest specimens of music and poetry have been able to survive the severe test of time and persecution. These quaint gems of song that country folk have treasured for generations lay until thirty years ago lost to the world, and would have disappeared forever but for the work of collectors like Pedrell in Spain or Cecil Sharp in England who arrived in the field just in time to save them from extinction.

I well remember those days in England, for Cecil Sharp was an occasional visitor in my father's house in Somerset and some of the most famous folk-carols from our county such as "Come all ye worthy Christian men"[5] were discovered when he was staying with us. I remember also his disgust with the young bucks of the village who, he said, knew nothing better than songs like "Charlie is my Darling" and looked with contempt

* All references are included in the Bibliography at the end of the article.

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on the lovely folk-relics, which were the object of his ardent search. To us boys however the real hero was Cecil Sharp's collaborator, Charles Marson, a neighbor of ours, and the actual instigator of all the Somerset folk-song research (which was also the earliest and most important in England). He was not the musician that Sharp was but he knew the ditties and the tunes and he knew the people and was their favorite. He was ours, too, especially because he would illustrate his songs by cutting out with scissors a whole gallery of exquisite figures in brown paper. He was so apt at this accomplishment that his paper figures were treated as the work of an artist and used as book illustrations. With a few swift strokes he would conjure up the portly village baker with his rolling pin or old Dobbin the Horse whilst we sat round and watched him with wonder and delight.

I realize now also that we were witnesses to the last feeble efforts of the villagers to hail Christmas in the old fashion by parading from house to house with carol-singing in return for drinks or bounties—but it was already a custom frowned upon: none but the more indigent characters indulged in it and we vastly preferred the more genteel midnight Christmas services where elegant Victorian carols were sung to the dim light of oil pendants and flickering candles—Steggall's carol[6] "Like silver lamps in a distant shrine" was my particular joy and I still have a sneaking affection for it. I little suspected then that the villagers' songs were the real glory of English tradition and realized it only when I began delving into the various collections twenty years later as they appeared off the press. This was my first introduction to legends like those of Herod and the roasted cock that sprouted in the dish; a new variant of "Come all ye worthy Christian men" gave me the story of Job who "was a patient man," and when his sorrows increased

> He always trusted in the Lord
> And soon got rich again.

A charmingly pathetic number with a lovely wide-ranging tune

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is the story of "Sweet Jesus" asking the fine children to play with him at the Holy Well and their cruel answer:

> Thou art but a silly fair maid's child
> Born in an ox's stall

"and sweet Jesus turned him about, weeping."

I cannot pass by a very unusual specimen of folk-art, the eucharistic carol[7] whose refrain goes:

> Lully lulley, lully lulley
> The falcon hath borne my make away.

It speaks of a bleeding knight lying on a bed "hanged with gold so red" while "Under that bed runs a flood, half water and half blood," and

> At the bed's foot there grows a thorn
> Which ever blows blossom since he was born.

This is a curious fable of the ritual sacrifice of Christ borne away on the altar-bed. Moreover Christ is shown in the guise of a knight of the Holy Grail while the blood and water run down from his pierced side and the Glastonbury thorn blossoms above him. What a beautiful and astonishing concatenation is here woven from the passion and nativity of our Lord, from the stories of Galahad or Parsifal, and decorated by a sprig of that modest white thorn which can still be seen blooming in the Somerset hedges in winter time. With such carols did the country folk keep their English Christmas alive in spite of general indifference and in the face of dire official opposition, much as the Irish monks preserved the faith against the coming of the Dark Ages and were ready when the time came to recivilize Europe.

The full story of the saving of the Christmas rites and celebrations is too long to tell here but some of the effects of that long struggle are worth noting. The Reformation began the work of suppression. The disapprobation of the worship of the

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Virgin is marked by the fact that lullabies and songs in her honor are more often unearthed from manuscript than recovered from oral tradition. The language is largely mixed with old English and must be faithfully followed if the real flavor of the original is to be obtained:

I sing of a miden
That is makeless;
King of all Kings
To her son she ches.[8]

Latin also fell gradually into disuse and the best Latin carols of English origin date back as far as the 14th century. Chaucer tells how the clerk of Oxenford

Made a nightes melodye,
So swetely that all the chambre rong
And Angelus ad Virginem he song[9]

By its tune this number is more properly classed as a hymn (and would that our modern hymns were enlivened by some of its lilting triplets!). To get the full effect the music should be sung in a quick, narrative, almost staccato style.

The result of the change of feeling at the Reformation was to turn the populace towards gayer, more secular songs; to Boar's Head Carols and Wassail Songs[10]—these latter commemorate what were originally pagan customs and with them went all manner of jollities, the yule log and the wassail bowl, enjoyed with a draught of "corny ale, nappy and stale." Nicholas Breton speaks of the Lord of Misrule, the "*Magister Ludorum*," a kind of licensed Devil, who presided over the festivities from Christmas Day till twelfth night while "the mummers and maskers made a merry sport, and unruly wenches went in danger of judgment," in the days of good King Charles (1626).

All this roused the ire of the Puritans, who got together on December 24, 1652 and voted a "terrible remonstrance" against Christmas Day, calling it the day of Anti-Christ's Masse. Of course that Barebones' Parliament could not carry through its

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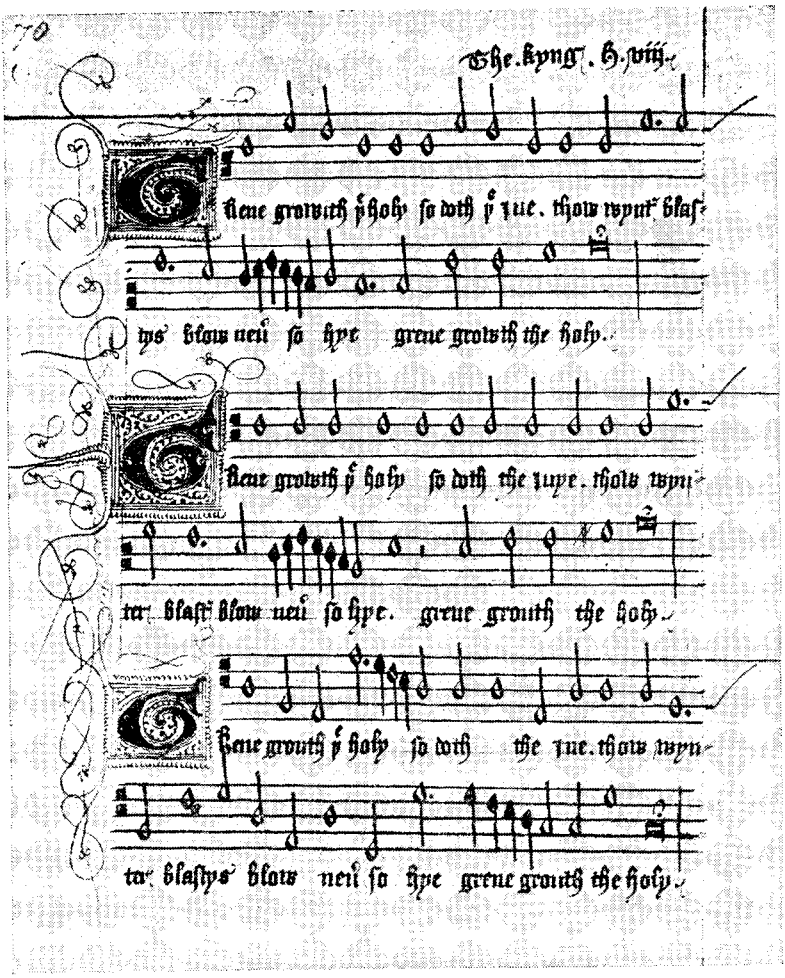

A Carol Madrigal

Grene growith ye holy
So doth ye rue
Thow wynter blastys blow ne'r so hye
Grene growth the holy.

One of the songs for several voices, with instrumental accompaniment, by King Henry VIII and other composers. The empty and full notes correspond to the black and red notes in other manuscripts of the same period. The original, Sæc. XVI Folio Musæum Britannicum, Codex 31,922, is reproduced in *The Musical Notation of the Middle Ages*, prepared for the members of the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society and published by J. Masters and Company, 78 New Bond Street, West, London 1890.

To this book THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is indebted for the illustration.

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mad decrees, but the evil effect of its spirit has lingered long both in England and America. For by the nature of the case America's early church music had to be derived from English sources; and before the year 1700 the stream of English religious music was either tainted by the worldly taste of the Restoration or else deflected entirely into evangelistic channels with their partiality for Bible songs, which never mention the Nativity at all and hardly even refer to the Christian religion. This latter branch became more and more turbid till in the days of Moody and Sankey, both musically and poetically, it had reached a stage of inconceivable degradation: one horrendous instance must suffice —the garbled refrain of a German drinking song transmogrified into

> Ye maddening drinks begone from me
> Wine, whiskey and crambambuli.

Worse still, the influx of these atrocities was responsible for pushing into the background a far purer product of Protestant religious aspiration which spread far and wide over the Southern states of America and might be described as the pilgrim literature of Puritanism. This stems back in spirit to John Bunyan and had developed into a full-fledged folk-art, far more popular amongst Southerners than any secular songs—Cecil Sharp, for instance, related that when he went out, after the War, hunting folk-material in the Appalachian mountains, the country people always regaled him with hymns and sacred songs and thought little of their native balladry. The emphasis of this pilgrim tradition was, of course, chiefly upon salvation, and consequently there are fewer carols to be found there; but after insisting on the essential import of traditional melodies I cannot but signal with enthusiasm the appearance of American folk-songs such as "Jesus born in Bethlea,"[11] a modal carol taken down only three years ago by Annabel Morris Buchanan from the true oral tradition as preserved by a folk-singer in Marion, Virginia.

To me the regulation Christmas hymns and anthems[12] seem drab after consorting with the verities of folk-lore and I have

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little use for the prolific production of the 19th century. The sentimentalism of gentlemen like Goss, Gadsby, *et hoc genus omne* still persists to cheapen our present Christmas rejoicings: even the hymn of the eminent Boston divine, Bishop Phillips Brooks, entitled "O little town of Bethlehem" is spoilt by association with the saccharine chromatic melody by Redner, and as for the perpetrations of Mr. E. R. Mead and Mr. George F. le Jeune—they are past description.[13]

It is a pleasure to turn away and glimpse for a few moments the world of foreign carols that comes so rapidly nowadays within our purview. No longer here do we find the roast beef and Yorkshire pudding of Anglo-Saxon use but a feast observed in more intimate, more customary ways. In Europe the Christmas festivals and observances have only died out in so far as modern education and modern officiousness have come in to vulgarize and spoil the natural self-expression of the people. There is no broken tradition: not two generations ago complete nativity plays were given in the Bavarian forest villages and the folk-carol still springs up afresh where the soil is fertile.[14] There is also a charming familiarity about the way in which the country-folk discover the new-born babe in their midst,[15] as if he had come down to earth again to grace their special valley or canton. And the tunes and legends are picked indifferently from any handy source. French Abbés take graceful operatic airs to accompany quite other sentiments and even medieval drinking songs serve to perpetuate the motifs which have drifted from country to country over the face of Europe. One of these songs enshrines the Catalan[16] version of that universal idea of the Rose of Jesse, the *res miranda*, springing up in darkest night, the theme also of Praetorius' famous hymn, "*Es ist ein Ros' entsprungen.*" The varied characters of different districts also color their vision of the gospel message. To the French, Christmas is a family feast, the children come with torches, playing their fife and drum, patapan, and the shepherds come too, come swiftly running, hasting towards Bethlehem to the sound of flute and tambourine.[17] From the dour mountains of Savoy come those stern

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accents of commination calling the vain and frivolous to a contemplation of Christ's humble birth,[18] while the romantic poets of Germany cradle the babe with ineffable sweetness ("*O Jesulein zart das Kripplein ist hart*")[19] or call "the star of mercy and the star of grace to lead our hearts to its resting place."[20]

For the knowledge of these foreign treasures three men in America are chiefly responsible, Kurt Schindler, Clarence Dickinson, and Edward Bliss Reed. I have before me the program of a Schola Cantorum concert given by Kurt Schindler in New York at Christmas 1922: it contains carols from old Dutch, Belgian, and Russian sources coupled with a cluster of Catalan and Basque legends and crowned with a version of a Provençal march, which celebrates the Epiphany-Day procession of the Three Kings through the town of Aix. What an assemblage![21]

Clarence Dickinson's popularity is well founded on certain valuable capacities: he has a good eye for a tune; he knows his locale; his Lithuanian and Russian numbers are redolent of their native soil; he knows also the value of dramatizing his arrangements; his Tyrolean song "The Inn at Bethlehem" gives us a three-fold picture of the Innkeeper demanding "Who knocks so loud?" and Mary and Joseph replying "Two folk in sorry plight." Dickinson promptly casts the Innkeeper for a gruff bass solo and Mary and Joseph for a soprano and tenor duet.[22] Edward Bliss Reed is the editor-in-chief of the learned New Haven Carol Society founded in 1923 to "recover, publish and circulate old Christmas carols and encourage carol singing," and he has brought to light many unusual foreign productions.

But the work of all these translators raises a grave question. How far can we really make use of foreign carols? The music is of course excellent but far too few translations are worthy of it. The old macaronic carol "*Puer Nobis Nascitur*" with its healthy and full-blooded refrain:

O and A and A and O
Cum cantibus in choro
Let the merry organ go
Benedicamus Dom'no

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is given in English by another translator with this ridiculous flourish:

> Let the organ thunder
> While the choir with peals of glee
> Doth rend the air asunder.

But this is not the worst of the matter. Mere silliness will be laughed out of court at once, but the sense is distressed to find simple phrases like "*Mille anges divins, Mille seraphins*," appearing as "Angels tall and white, seraphs pure and bright" and the ear wearies of the everlasting "Mother mild" put to rhyme with "infant child." After wading through such cloying banalities one would never suspect the variegated beauty of the originals. But I have quoted sufficiently from English models to give a glimpse of the humor, the imaginative variety therein contained, and it is equally true of the productions of other nations. The conclusion is that translations must be very carefully scrutinised and only the best accepted. And a few fortunate persons may assay these delights in the original!

In any case, why not make a larger use of the interesting poetry of our modern American and English writers,[23] especially since many fine settings of it have been made in recent years? Of all the writers of present-day Christmas music one may perhaps single out one name, that of the well-known composer R. Vaughan Williams. He has been field-worker, editor, arranger all in one: a great burly yeoman in appearance, he embodies the countryside in himself and his feeling for its songs is so profound that the rustic melodies come to birth again from his pen. More than that, he has extended their application to large-scale composition as in his *Pastoral Symphony* and his *Fantasia on Christmas Carols:* in the latter he has mixed science and mirthfulness in fine fashion: while the chorus chant "God bless the ruler of this house, and long-on may he reign" the violins sing overhead the old melody of "A Virgin unspotted" and the Bass-Tuba stalks in with a thunderous pronouncement of "The First Nowell."[24]

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But there is yet more than all this: let us remember the exquisite anthems, let us search out and put in order many things. We must still, like Scrooge, honor Christmas in our hearts and find means to affirm our sentiments in action. Our carols too need a setting: not only perhaps an altar and a chancel and a white-robed choir chanting at midnight but also some common custom, communally shared, which makes these other churchly elements part of a wider, popular ceremony. Are there no longer such customs observed in America? Something of the kind seems to persist, at least in one limited quarter of Boston, judging by what a Bostonian friend writes me of the Christmas Eve on Beacon Hill, still to him a thing of "sweetness and light" though he is no religious believer.

"The illumination," he says, "begins at seven o'clock on Christmas Eve. The quaint fine old quarter is all ablaze with golden-light, a soft glory of candle radiance bringing out the curvilinear shapes of the old housefronts, the narrow Georgian windows illumined with innumerable candles; sometimes as many as two-score candles, big and white, even great Church altar candles set in rare silver sconces. Then at last music sounds falling from afar: the streets have filled with sightseers who come in reverent mood. The singing grows louder, the singers come near. They are singing "*Adeste fideles*" or "While Shepherds Watched their Flocks by Night." Some carry antique watchmen's lanterns aloft on poles. The band of joyous carollers passes: another marches by through the falling snow, now dazzling bright in the soft candle-light. Other bands pass—one of singers from the old Church of the Advent at the foot of the hill. Absorbed, attentive the crowds of sightseers reverently listen as the carollers march past them singing. At ten o'clock the celebration is over, the singing dies away in the distance and the crowds disperse: little by little the lights in the ancient houses go out, the streets grow dark. The old hill is left to silence and to its memories of Yuletide spirit and Christmas song."

Here is the ceremony, the opportunity, only asking to be reanimated by our vision. But it is not easy for us as it was for the

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men of olden times. For them life was rounded in an ordered sequence and Christ's nativity was part of it. They had their plays and their mysteries to keep the story green in their minds. Every day was threaded on a rosary of Christian observance, Wednesday the day when Christ "His vow He shall make" and Friday "when His death He shall take" and the ladder of the moral life led up to the assurance that "Mary bore sweet Jesus Christ, for to redeem us all." Few moderns can achieve this spirit: doubtless for the orthodox these mysteries are a familiar heritage: and some men may reach upward in imaginative flight: but for the most of us, we can only approach sincerely, honestly, a little wistfully, and say with Thomas Hardy that we feel

> If someone said on Christmas Eve
> "Come, see the oxen kneel
> In the lonely barton by yonder coomb
> Our childhood used to know"
> We should go with him in the gloom
> Hoping it might be so.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. The finest modern collection of hymns for general use is *Songs of Praise* edited by Dearmer (Oxford University Press).
2. Among arranged nativity plays see especially *A Mystery for Christmas* by Howard D. McKinney (J. Fischer). A naturalistic example is Robin Milford's *Midwinter* (Oxford University Press) containing a noteworthy setting of Christina Rossetti's poem. Unquestionably the finest is Rutland Boughton's *Bethlehem* (Stainer & Bell). Some Celtic otherworldly strain in Boughton's nature, which has led him to embrace impossible anarchic causes, has also given him a rare insight into the mystery of the old Coventry play. Many beautiful phrases are quoted at the end of this article from this play.
3. 'Fake-Gothic' is Wyndham Lewis' expressive term for J. M. Neale's poem "Good King Wenceslas" and such pseudo-medieval inventions. 'Macaronic' carols mix Latin words with the indigenous language, e. g., "In dulci jubilo, Now sing we all i-o." See the Praetorius setting (Carl Fischer Inc.).
4. See Peter Warlock's "Balulalow" (Oxford University Press).

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5. *Folk-Songs from Somerset.* Cecil Sharp. (Novello.)
6. See the famous Victorian collection *Christmas Carols New and Old* (Bramley and Stainer). Also in many hymnals.
7. All these four and a host of other magnificent carols are to be found in the *Oxford Book of Carols* (Oxford University Press).
8. See a beautiful modern setting by Ernest Mac Millan (published in Toronto): included is also a setting of the Stork Carol. Of course lullaby carols did not cease at the Reformation: see an exquisite madrigal by Peerson "Upon my lap my soveraigne sits" (H. W. Gray Co.). The best group of these carols is assembled in *A Mediaeval Carol Book*—R. R. Terry (Burns Oates and Washbourne 1932).
9. A modern rendering of the "*Angelus ad Virginem*" is given in the *English Carol Book* (Mowbray).
10. The Wassail setting of R. Vaughan Williams (Stainer & Bell) has been popularised by the English singers.
11. From *Twelve Folk Hymns* edited by John Powell (J. Fischer): the whole subject is treated by George Pullen Jackson's *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands.*
12. Naturally I do not include in this condemnation the magnificent heritage of oratorio which stretches from the days of Bach and earlier up until the present. Bach and Handel wrote the finest concerted Christmas music which we have. In this connection I may draw attention to the "Shepherd's Farewell to the Holy Family" from Berlioz' *Fuite en Egypte* (many editions) and a little-known anthem "O come hither" by Jackson (H. W. Gray Co.).
13. A fine 19th century American carol is Hopkins' "We three Kings of Orient are." One of the first good American collections was *Christmas Carols Ancient and Modern* edited by Tomlins (American Book Co. 1897 Cincinnati): it contains a pretty flower-carol from Gascony and a carol of the birds from Bas-Quercy.
14. There was a veritable revival of religious writing in Catalonia at the turn of the century—some fine choruses resulted—see "La Mare de Deu" Nicolau.
15. Local allusions constantly appear. One carol (in *Old French and German Carols*, New Haven Carol Society, Stainer & Bell) mentions the Mississippi emigrations. See also "Old French Christmas Carols" edited by Kurt Schindler (G. Schirmer).
16. The Catalan number is "The Three Kings" edited by Schindler (Ditson Co.). Quite a different treatment is given in "Fum!

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fum! fum! (also Ditson). Three excellent English settings of this legend are "A Spotless Rose" by Howells (Stainer & Bell) and "There is no rose of such virtue" set by Arnold Bax (J. & W. Chester) and also by G. Thalben Ball (Novello).

17. French family songs are "Patapan" arr. Howard Brockway (H. W. Gray Co.) and "Bring a torch Jeannette, Isabella" (many settings). Of the Shepherds songs I would select "Allons, gay, gay, gay, Bergères" of Costeley (edited by Schindler) so full of French verve and élan, the carol "Whence is that goodly fragrance?" (H. F. W. Deane & Sons, London), and the carol of the Bressan waits (Concord series, E. C. Schirmer).
18. See *Provençal Carols of Nicholas Saboly* edited by Edward Bliss Reed and Stanley Smith (H. W. Gray Co.).
19. See *A Garland of Yuletide Melodies* edited by Carl Pfatteicher (Carl Fischer)—many beautiful translations by Catherine Winkworth contained here.
20. The carol of Cornelius' "Three Kings have journeyed from the Orient far" (many editions)—among the most beautiful of all carols.
21. Of this group especially notable are "*Hodie Christus Natus Est*," Sweelinck's motet, "The sleep of the Child Jesus," set by Gevaert (Boston Music Co.) who made many fine carol arrangements, and Rachmaninoff's "Glory be to God." Others mentioned in note 16.
22. Dickinson's arrangements are all published by the H. W. Gray Co. usually for two or four voices. His most striking discovery is the "Cradle Song" from Hayti, his most charming the Italian folk-song "Whence come ye?"
23. See "Christmas in the Wood," Mabel Daniels' setting from Frances Frost (J. Fischer), and the poem, "Oh Jesus Son of Mary," by Katherine Tynan (Stainer & Bell).
24. Published by Stainer & Bell.

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Check-Book Inflation

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IT has been obvious for some time that this country needs a good, sound banking system, one so simple and intelligible that a banker can understand his own business. The banking holiday in the spring of 1933 afforded an opportunity for real and fundamental banking reform. Some members of the original brain trust advised the President at that time to operate rather than to procrastinate as his predecessor had done. "Eventually, why not now?" they asked. Professor Berle for one thought socialization of the banking system the only way to prevent our bankers from further discrediting themselves. But the President hesitated and conciliated as presidents are wont to do. To use Mr. Roosevelt's favorite football analogy, the interference was too fast for the quarterback and the chance to score a touchdown was lost.

In March 1933 the Administration gave the banks a new lease instead of a new deal. Since then Mr. Roosevelt and his aides have used all the humiliating tactics tried by their predecessors and have even added a few new antics in their efforts to get the bankers they revived to play ball with them. Brigadier General Johnson threatened to go to the Federal Reserve Board and tell on the bankers. Jesse Jones made faces at them, called them names in their annual meeting, and threatened to bring in the bogy-man—government banking—if they didn't watch out. The President, who had criticised others for proposing "only the lending of more money," has repeatedly urged bankers to be lib-

[1] The author was a member of the group dubbed the Treasury "sub-brain trust" appointed last summer to survey currency, banking, and revenue problems and to study the relation of credit and tax policies to business stability. Before they arrived in Washington two members of this group had written in favor of full or 100 per cent reserves for all checking accounts. Bills to establish the suggested system of full reserves for all demand deposits were introduced late in the last session of Congress and the issue will probably be one of the major questions before the next Congress. The author writes, however, purely in a personal capacity and has no knowledge of what the attitude of Treasury officials may be to this or similar suggestions.

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eral with "other people's money." Not only has he stated that "loans can and will be made" but he has requested bank examiners to be easy with the banks in order that the banks can be easy with their credit. Meanwhile the Federal Reserve Banks and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation have pumped hundreds of millions of dollars into the banks in the hope that they would pass these funds along to industry, and various divisions of the Government have "surveyed" the banks to see whether they are "lending as they ought to." All these efforts to induce the revived bankers to revive business by lending their idle funds though rather amusing have not been very productive of bank loans to business. Furthermore, just one year after the Administration rescued our bankers from the wrath of their depositors the bankers reciprocated with the only anti-administration vote of any group in the special poll of the *Literary Digest.*

Serious students of banking would agree with H. Parker Willis that "a rather complete rectification of our banking system" is the need of the day. Symptoms of functional disorder are still evident even to the layman and there is little doubt but that our banking laws will be pretty thoroughly overhauled in the coming Congress. The bankers, realizing that they have some reform coming to them, have in certain localities set up "reform" commissions "to study the necessity of changes in the banking structure." One can readily appreciate that bankers would rather do their own reforming than have that task given over to a group of brain trusters. In the past there has been little love lost between the money-changers and the text-book writers. Professors of economics have been more or less convinced that bankers as a group really don't know what banking is all about and the bankers, especially of late, seem determined to prove that the professors are correct.

In his October talk to the American Bankers Association the President repeated that a stable price level is "our national policy." Previously he had promised a dollar "which will not change its puchasing and debt-paying power during the succeeding generation." Obviously, if the President's "ideal dollar" is ever to

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come into its own the Federal Government must exert more control over the issue of bank or check-book money. Only by Federal control of the *total* supply of money can prices be kept within bounds. Since fractional reserves permit the 15,000 some odd banks in this country to expand and contract bank money without regard to Federal monetary policies, our money can never be successfully managed until all commercial banks are required to maintain full reserves. Without 100 per cent reserves the President's "dollar dreams" cannot come true.

Under the present fractional-reserve provisions banks are able to expand their loans to 8 or 10 times the amount of cash in the country and such loans, by means of bank checks, circulate as money. Normally, in fact, nine-tenths of the nation's money supply is furnished by bank accounts—"money in the bank" which really is not in the bank at all. This is a part of the so-called "mystery" of banking which even mystifies the bankers. If bankers only lent the money deposited with them, as they pretend they do, bank deposits would not have shot up from $38,000,000,000 in 1922 to $58,000,000,000 in 1928 and then back to $38,000,000,000 again in 1933. It is because commercial banks lend, not the cash sums deposited with them but their own credit in the form of checking accounts, that they can pyramid their loans to many times the amount of cash in the country. Although all this was explained at length by ex-President Hoover and his aides during their ill-fated campaign against hoarding our commercial bankers continue to service-charge their customers as though they were operating investment banks which do not manufacture check-book money. As a result bank service charges are most unjust. Borrowing customers are favored while depositing customers are penalized so severely that often it would cost them but half the bank's monthly service charge to borrow from the bank the whole minimum balance required to avoid the charge.

This profitable practise of lending what one does not possess began in the middle of the 17th century in England. Goldsmiths soon learned that because all depositors would not demand their

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gold on the same day they could grant loans in a volume somewhat in excess of the actual gold deposited with them for safekeeping. Ever since then, by the simple device of lending checking accounts or promises to pay cash instead of actually lending cash, deposit bankers have loaned more money than they actually had in their vaults. As loans are granted the deposit accounts of the borrowers are credited with the proceeds of the loans. Called into existence by a bank loan such new deposit currency is transferred from one bank account to another as purchases are made and bills are paid and it remains a part of the nation's money supply until extinguished by repayment of the original bank loan.

In the opinion of some economists "no practise in the conduct of modern business has more momentous consequences" than this custom by which banks and banks alone can make mere promises to pay cash (bank debts) serve as a part of our medium of exchange. Since this loan-made money or indebtedness of the banks makes up the major portion of our money supply, individuals and corporations must go into debt to the banks if the amount of money in use in the country is to be augmented in the approved manner. To bankers, of course, an increase in bank indebtedness (loan-made money) is "sound" whereas an increase in Federal money (currency) is "unsound" or inflationary.

The proposed full reserve system for checking accounts would divorce the supplying of money (a prerogative of the government) from the lending of money (the function of banks). Normally a loan merely transfers money and does not increase the nation's total fund of money. There is, of course, absolutely no reason why the amount of money in a country should vary in proportion to a part of the private debt. With the issue of money no longer tied to changes in the size of bank indebtedness the amount of check money available would not fluctuate as it now does with the prospect of profit for the banks and profit for industry. And why should the supply of a country's purchasing power depend directly and almost entirely upon the prospect of profit for certain elements in its citizenry?

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There is nothing novel in a full reserve system for all demand deposits. Far from being a leap in the dark it would be a return to an earlier and sounder system of banking. Back in 1873, before bankers in this country resorted *en masse* to the clever trick of lending checking accounts in order to circumvent restrictions upon the issue of currency by banks, the total deposits in all commercial banks just about equalled the amount of cash in use. By 1930 the ratio of cash to deposits had fallen to 10 per cent. Parenthetically it should be noted that bankers continually clamor for more meagre reserves for check-book money but yell "fiat money" when anyone suggests a lowering of the 100 per cent reserve behind Federal currency.

Also I wish to make it clear that this scheme for abolishing the private coinage of "fiat" money by banks does not envisage government loans to industry or private individuals in competition with the banks. On the contrary it would remove the cause for such action either by the Federal Government itself or by the Federal Reserve Banks, which were recently empowered to make loans directly to industry. If the right to issue the circulating medium of the nation were restored to the Federal Government there would be no need for presidents to scold bankers and beg them to lend liberally and perhaps unwisely in order to bring about an increase in the volume of the various kinds of money used in this country. The threat of government banking, which so many including ex-brain-truster James P. Warburg fear, would be eliminated if the supply of money were no longer determined by the demand for bank loans. The nation's means of payment then, instead of being subject to the control of private bankers, would once more be in the hands of the Federal Government as the framers of the Constitution plainly intended when they reserved for Congress the sole right "to coin money and regulate the value thereof."

It is easy to make out a good case against the free and irresponsible coinage of purchasing power (check or pen money) by private bankers. The evils inherent in the chaotic inflation and deflation of bank credit should be obvious. In the first place

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no private group in a democracy should be able to make and destroy the community's money for its own profit for such a power not only puts the bankers in a strategic position in our economy but permits them to bring undue pressure to bear upon the government. More than that, when the size of a community's money supply is directly dependent upon the prospect of profit, which cannot be controlled, then pessimism and optimism are immediately reflected in the community's supply of purchasing power, in its level of prices, and in figures of employment. Purely psychological factors are transmitted via the banks into physical realities. And, since the prospect of profit to which the money supply is now tied is so uncontrollable and unpredictable, we are practically unable to overcome adverse economic conditions by rational methods but must resort to circuitous devices and rose-colored forecasting if the amount of money available is to be increased and prosperity to be restored. Worse than that, the prospect of profit depends at least in part upon prices and prices in turn are partially dependent upon the money supply which, as we have observed, depends upon the prospect of profit. This is the now familiar vicious circle that carries an economy to the depths of depression. No wonder John Maynard Keynes calls the business cycle the "credit cycle."

Since at present our money is so tightly tied to private debt it expands unduly during booms when everyone is going into debt and contracts unduly during depressions when debts are liquidated. As a result of this rather perverse elasticity of our money a curve representing currency and bank credit combined resembles the path of an animal with the blind staggers. Some economists, including Professor Sumner Slichter of the Harvard Business School, believe that it may be impossible to achieve business stability without first abolishing the present system of credit creation by banks. The proposed full or 100 per cent reserve scheme would do just that and to that extent it would help to iron out the extreme fluctuations in prices, purchasing power, business activity, and employment.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the methods and de-

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vices which have been suggested for separating our money from bank debts and thereby ending the abuses of bank credit. A variety of schemes for effecting that "transition" have been proposed by students of banking. It may, however, enable the reader more readily to appreciate the full significance of such a measure if I briefly outline one possible procedure and then point out how money could be better managed under a full reserve system.

Under the present system banks, by lending checking accounts to their customers, convert their credit into earning assets. A bank adds to its loans and investments by simultaneously writing up both sides of its balance sheet. The bank's interest-bearing assets (loans and investments) and its non-interest-bearing obligations (checking accounts) are both increased by the amount of bank credit created. Such credit expansion is limited by the legal reserve requirements which may range according to the bank's charter all the way from 7 to 20 per cent. This reserve may consist of cash, reserves with the Federal Reserve Bank or, for some state banks, deposits in other banks. As a result of such varying fractional reserve requirements an increase in the total cash of banks or in the reserves which member banks hold with the Federal Reserve Banks permits a manifold and unpredictable expansion of bank money. Furthermore, for no good reason the ratio of possible expansion on reserves is different for banks in the same place and different for national banks in different places.

Under the 100 per cent system reserve requirements would be uniform and multiple expansion of bank credit would be impossible. Banks could no longer make loans by merely writing an account on the ledger and handing the borrower a check-book. On the contrary under the full reserve system it would be necessary to require commercial banks to maintain behind each checking account a reserve in cash or in the Federal Reserve Bank equal to the total amount of the account. In introducing such a system it would be necessary for each bank to change into either cash or reserves with the Federal Reserve that part of the bank's loans and investments which together with the present frac-

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tional reserve covers all the checking accounts in the bank. To prevent a forced liquidation of such bank loans and investments under unfavorable conditions the Federal Government through the Federal Reserve Banks could lend the commercial banks whatever funds they needed for the time being in order to bring the reserves behind their demand deposits up to a full 100 per cent. Then that part of a commercial bank's loans and investments which were replaced by the funds borrowed from the Federal Reserve could be set aside in order that the bank could pay off its debt to the Government when it had advantageously disposed of the investments and its customers had paid off their loans from the bank. The interest received on the loans and investments before they were liquidated would balance the interest on the funds borrowed from the Government to make up the deficiency in reserves. Since liquidation of such bank assets would no longer destroy "money in the bank," the transition to a 100 per cent banking system should have neither a deflationary nor an inflationary effect.

Once the loans and investments behind checking accounts had been replaced by cash or reserves with the Federal Reserve Banks and a 100 per cent reserve had been required for all checking accounts it would be impossible for banks privately to manufacture money by lending checking accounts to their customers. The present variety of private debt (loans and investments) would no longer be satisfactory backing for checking accounts, though such loans and investments would still be satisfactory for savings accounts which legally are payable only upon 30-days' advance notice of withdrawal. There would be no need to disturb savings banks or the savings department of a commercial bank since savings deposits do not perform a monetary function in the sense that checking accounts do. Since borrowers wish to be able to draw checks in order to use the funds they borrow, banks do not lend savings accounts. A savings depositor cannot purchase goods and pay bills by writing out a check on his account. The banks would continue to earn the same profits on their savings-deposit business as they now do.

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Since a full reserve system would require that the banks maintain a 100 per cent reserve of non-interest-bearing Federal debt (cash and reserves in the Federal Reserve Banks) instead of all sorts of private debt (loans and investments) the Government could afford to pay as much as 3 per cent to the banks for the additional reserves of Federal obligations that the banks would have to hold under the 100 per cent system. This payment would still make it profitable for the banks to do a checking-account business. Furthermore, it would involve no loss to the Federal Government since the Government now pays slightly over 3 per cent on its outstanding funded debt and this interest-bearing debt of the Government would be reduced by the amount of additional bank reserves required under the new system. As a matter of policy the percentage compensation to the banks might be changed from year to year as experience and bank earnings indicated, for with business more stable bank losses would be less likely to occur.

Prior to the present depression banking as a whole was a fairly profitable business. From 1925 to 1930 the average net profit of national banks on their invested capital was over 7 per cent and nearly one-fifth of all the national banks with loans and investments of over $1,000,000 showed net profits of 12 per cent or more. For the 30 years prior to 1931 the average net profit of all national banks has been 2 or 3 per cent above the average yield on high-grade bonds.

The amount of pen or check money would, under a full reserve system, vary directly with the amount of cash and reserves in the Federal Reserve Banks. Both of these items can be completely controlled by the Federal monetary authorities either through the Government's control of coinage or by means of open-market purchases and sales of securities by the Federal Reserve Banks. New checking accounts would be created in exact proportion to open-market purchases, and open-market sales by the Federal Reserve Banks would withdraw an equal amount of checking accounts or cash from circulation. Bankers could still refuse to lend generously but such action, whether justified or

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not, would have no effect upon the amount of check-book money and cash in existence. Our money would remain the same regardless of how it was spent or lent; the whims of bankers and confidence or lack of confidence among bank borrowers would cease directly to affect money, and through money to affect prices and employment.

On the other hand the program of expansion through open-market operations, by which both Presidents Hoover and Roosevelt have tried to stimulate bank credit, has proved impotent under our present banking system. Wholesale purchases of securities by the Federal Reserve Banks have merely resulted in piling up nearly $2,000,000,000 of excess reserves in the Reserve Banks. These excess or unused reserves, under our partial reserve system which allows multiple expansion and contraction of bank credit, would if sufficient demand developed permit an increase in bank loans and investments of nearly $20,000,000,000 or almost half again as much money as we now have. Under such a system of high-powered reserves which permits a pyramiding of bank credit it is very difficult to prevent over-expansion of bank money during a boom or to force an expansion of bank money during a depression. As a result we shuttle back and forth between practically uncontrolled inflation and uncontrolled deflation.

Though under a full reserve system of banking, money still might not be lent and spent according to the wishes and hopes of a Federal administration, the lending policies of private banks would have no direct effect upon the money supply and consequently there would need be no more alarm when bank lending slowed up than when the lending of other investment institutions such as life insurance companies, building and loan associations, and so on slowed up. As a matter of fact if the Federal Government is really interested to know why more and bigger bank loans are not being made, Federal officials might take a tip from Senator Glass and investigate the interest rates our banks charge their customers. To use the words of the veteran Senator of Virginia, "Bankers all over the country have what they call a stand-

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ard rate of interest, and they never depart from it except in special cases and for large purposes. . . . With abundant funds and credit they [could] lower the rate of interest in order to stimulate business and industry and farming activities. But they do not do that. Bankers are the only people on earth that utterly disregard the law of supply and demand." For the bankers' benefit the Federal Government now fixes the maximum interest rates that banks may pay on time and demand deposits—which rates, incidentally, are much lower here than in England or Canada. The Government might likewise determine, from time to time, the maximum rates bankers could charge on their loans. That issue, however, is somewhat aside from my main thesis.

Frankly a full reserve system is no cure-all. But it would at least eliminate that part of the business cycle caused by the inflation and deflation of bank credit. It would simplify the banking system and so strip banking of its mysteries that a schoolboy could comprehend its process. There would then be no excuse for the present unjust and excessive service charges, arising from faulty cost analyses that do not allow for the creation of bank credit under our existing system. A 100 per cent system would make banking not only sane but safe. With such a system there would be little need for a Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to saddle the cost of our present system of wild-cat banking upon the more careful and conservative banks. With fractional reserves the various and sundry securities and loans partially backing a bank's deposits may depreciate with a loss to the bank's depositors, but with full bank reserves all money would be backed by the same Government liability. A checking account would always be as good as cash. There would then be little cause for hoarding, which is so dangerous now because withdrawals under a partial reserve system result in forced sales of bank assets, the calling of bank loans, and the contraction of bank credit.

The proposed 100 per cent reserve system would go a long way toward preventing a recurrence of the evils of the past. What more can one expect from a relatively simple bank reform?

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The Roots of American Humor

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NOWADAYS students of our literature have taken up humor in a serious way, and the collecting of its earlier manifestations has become a specialty among enthusiasts for Americana. Mr. Bernard DeVoto draws upon Mr. Franklin J. Meine's unrivaled collection of early books and periodicals for his examination of the matrix of Mark Twain's humor; Miss Constance Rourke has traced from similar sources the development of the stock characters of American drama and American fiction alike. Names of long-forgotten authors such as Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and Johnson J. Hooper have been disinterred; the gathering and sifting of tall stories about Paul Bunyan and Mike Fink has become a small but depression-proof industry. Through all this collecting and collating runs a naïve idea which threatens to become a creed—the investigators' conviction that they have at last discovered something truly native to our soil. Mr. DeVoto indeed states the conviction in terms which leave him no loophole for escape: The tall story, he says, "was an infinitely versatile art form; and, what is more important, an art sharply and autochthonously American—unique."

Was it?

Nothing is riskier, in surveying any human institution, than to point to one specific spot and say, "Here it begins." For if anything is certain about them it is that institutions have a life history of their own. They do not spring up suddenly but grow by mutation and adaptation. Getting to their origins is as long and dubious a task as getting to the root of our biological family tree. Especially is this true of American institutions. The transplanting of the English-speaking peoples to America did not produce a new civilization. We carried with us not only innumerable vestigial organs of an older society but also the seeds of all our new developments. Whoever limits his study of Americana to Amer-

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ica is bound to obtain incomplete results and is also in some danger of making a fool of himself.

What applies to American institutions in general applies *a fortiori* to American speech and literature. Most people nowadays, except the testy gentlemen who write letters to the British papers, are aware that the average "Americanism" is merely an archaic or dialectic English term which has flourished here after being forgotten or ignored in its native land. When Francis Grose—he who explained "gouging" as "a cruel practice used by the Bostonians in America"—published his *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* in 1785 he included dozens of "Americanisms" such as "cracker" for "biscuit," "frisk" for "search," "hick" for a rural simpleton, "kid" as a verb meaning to hoax or deceive, "leery" as an adjective meaning on one's guard, and "moonshine" for illicit liquor. It may well be questioned, indeed, whether any of our older expressions except those of Indian origin is really native to the soil. Even our spelling of "honor" simply perpetuates the usage of such sturdy Yankees as John Milton and Robert Burns. Perhaps the collectors of American humor would do well to take a sharper look at the British analogs.

The study of literature still suffers from the aristocratic bias which formerly limited the materials of history to the doings of kings and their courts. That which engrosses textbook and classroom is mostly highbrow literature, the carefully wrought product which was written, and read, only by an educated minority of the population. The undergraduate, and too often his teacher as well, is left with the impression that Wordsworth and Coleridge were the best sellers of 1798 and Shelley and Keats of 1821, whereas in those years few Britons had even heard the poets' names. Further back in literary history the spread between the tastes of the upper classes and those of their humbler contemporaries becomes still wider. The gentry find their standards in foreign languages and literatures, preferably extinct ones; the plain folk have interests nearer home. We judge the eighteenth century by Pope and Swift and Johnson, by Fielding and Addison and Sterne, but it is doubtful whether a tithe of the popula-

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tion had ever read a word of any of these. The works which circulated by the tens of thousands in print and by hundreds of thousands through oral transmission were very different. The scholarship of nearly two centuries has made us familiar with the popular ballads and folksongs of England and Scotland, but no such work has been done for the popular prose. Johnson's *Rambler*, which as a periodical achieved a maximum circulation of five hundred copies, is in all the textbooks, but no textbook mentions Johnson's contemporary, Dougal Graham, bellman of Glasgow, whose pamphlets sold by the tens of thousands and were in the pack of every peddler in Scotland.

Investigators of our humor, if they have sought its origins in Great Britain, have read the literature which gets into the histories. Finding no humor of exaggeration there they have concluded that it did not exist. Nevertheless the roots of our folk tales are in Britain, though we must look for them in men like Dougal Graham and not in Pope and Johnson. America was not settled by highbrows, though they have written its history, thereby misleading their own descendants as well as the rest of the world. If the colonial history of New England had not been recorded by ministers and elders of the church so many misconceptions of New England life would not be current today. Behind the clergy, and making up the real life of the colonies, were plain farmers, artisans, fishermen and sailors, working hard for small reward, much interested in their families and their bread and butter and not at all interested in theology, bawdy in their cups and grimly stoical or acidly humorous under hardship—in short, men of a piece with mankind the world over. And this stock had not cast aside its traditions when it crossed the Atlantic. As it perpetuated and adapted to American use the local speech of all the parts of the British Isles whence it came, so it perpetuated and adapted folk literature.

The only part of this transplanted folk literature which has received adequate attention is the ballads which even today are found in remote spots among the descendants of Scottish, Scotch-Irish, and North of England stock—ballads which prove by

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their multitude of variants and alterations that they are something more than mere fossilized remains. But the ballad after all is a specialized form. Effective composition of a new ballad—this remark is made with a defiant glance at the adherents of the "communal" theory of ballad-making—requires not only a specific talent but also an education in the traditions of the form. Popular prose is under no such handicap. It is infinitely versatile, as Mr. DeVoto says, and the man who has had or imagined a single vivid experience or who strikes out a single metaphor has as good a chance of adding to the common stock as has the born raconteur.

When we turn back, not to the seventeenth and eighteenth century authors who bulk largest in the textbooks but to the proverb collections and chapbooks of the period, we are in no strange world. As Mark Twain discovered about well-drawn characters in fiction and biography, we have known it before—met it on the river. The plain people of Great Britain, two centuries ago, were no strangers to exaggeration and far-fetched metaphor and tall stories—these things were part of their daily speech. The following examples of the simplest form of the humor of exaggeration—the grotesque or startling simile, the "tall tale in miniature," as Miss Rourke calls it—are drawn from a variety of sources. To avoid confusion from dialectic details, and to remove clues, the spelling has been normalized and one or two localisms have been replaced by their standard English synonyms. How many can classify them according to country of origin?

As lazy as Ludlam's dog, that leaned his head against a wall to bark.

I am perfectly honest! When I was only a child, my mother would have trusted me with a house full of millstones.

Mean enough to steal acorns from a blind hog.

He'd drive a louse to London for the hide and tallow.

As wise as Waltham's calf, that ran nine miles to suck a bull.

They drive their own car, though you wouldn't think they had money enough to keep a mousetrap baited.

No more chance than a cat in hell without claws.

It is well that the alleys are not wider, because they hold as much smell now as a person can stand.

I nearly slept myself to death with hunger.

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As brisk as a bee in a tarpot.
Tongue enough for two sets of teeth.
"Salt!" said the cobbler, after he had eaten the whole cow except the tail.

One of the above is quoted from Mark Twain, one from James Russell Lowell, and one from an elderly Manchester merchant who used the expression in casual conversation with the writer some years ago. The others are to be found in John Ray's *English Proverbs* (first published in 1670), Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (first published in 1785), and Dougal Graham's *The Comical Sayings of Paddy from Cork* (*circa* 1760). Since Ludlam's dog appears in both Ray and Grose, as do a number of other similar sayings, we may reasonably infer that he was well-known in British talk for more than a century. And he was not too lazy to cross the ocean. Turning to the apocryphal or ghost-written *Account of Colonel Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East* (1835) we find this speech by a Yankee peddler recently returned from the South:

They're great for huntin' of foxes; and if you were to see their hounds! lean, lank, labber-sided pups, that are so poor they have to prop up agin a post-and-rail fence 'fore they can raise a bark at my tin-cart.

According to the *English Dialect Dictionary* "labber" is North of England and means wet or muddy or sloppy; and therefore out of this particular "pristine little story" only the post-and-rail fence and the tin-cart are really entitled to wear the "lustrous air of new birth" which Miss Rourke finds surrounding the earlier tall tales. In other words, the only details by which this tall tale in miniature differs from its British parents are those which relate to the physical elements in the American scene. The humor is the same in both.

It may be objected that these metaphors and similes are too simple to base an argument on. The full development of American humor gives us not merely this brief dry wit but the full-blown flower of extravaganza—the saga of Paul Bunyan or John

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Henry or Mike Fink. The chapbooks and the proverbs offer nothing to compare with the Big Bear of Arkansas or with the exploits of Paul Bunyan and his blue ox Babe. Perhaps not, though if one were not warned in advance would one be wholly certain that Paddy from Cork's rooster had not strayed in from one of Paul's camps?

> I remember one long-necked cock that my mother had of an overseas brood, that stood on the midden and picked all the stars out of the north-west, so they were never so thick there since.

But let us go back a little further. It may not be irrelevant and immaterial to recall that any first settler of Pennsylvania or the Carolinas would have had plenty of time, if he chose, to read Urquhart's translation of Rabelais before starting for the New World; that any first settler in Virginia—like any Pilgrim Father who wasn't too pious—might have seen Falstaff and Bardolph on a Bankside stage. Passing by these reminders, however, that exaggerated humor was not unknown even to the cultivated classes in the seventeenth century, we turn from the chapbooks to folk tales and from folk tales to the medieval sagas and epics and romances whence they sprang. And wherever we look we find the same thing.

Consider, for instance, some of the heroes of the *Mabinogion.* There was Drem the son of Dremidyd who "when the gnat arose in the morning with the sun, he could see it from Gelli Wic in Cornwall, as far off as Pen Blathaon in North Britain." Gilla Coes Hydd "would clear three hundred acres at one bound: the chief leaper of Ireland was he." Clust the son of Clustveinad, "though he were buried seven cubits beneath the earth, he would hear the ant fifty miles off rise from her nest in the morning." Medyr the son of Methredydd could from Gelli Wic "shoot the wren through the two legs upon Esgeir Oervel in Ireland"; Gwiawn Llygad Cath could cut a haw from the eye of a gnat without hurting him, and Kai was of so warm a nature "that, when it rained hardest, whatever he carried remained dry for a handbreadth above and a handbreadth below his hand; and

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when his companions were coldest, it was to them as fuel with which to light their fire." And like these heroes was Cailleach Bheurr, "a colossal old deer-goddess, the best known in the Gaeldom, a being who could wade across the deepest straits—whose washtub was the mighty whirlpool of Corryvreckan—who could carry islands with her in a basket."

The further an American reads in the Celtic legends, in fact, the more familiar they seem. What essential difference is there between Davy Crockett who could grin a coon to death at thirty yards and Kilhwch who could shout with so deadly an effect that every pregnant woman within a hundred-mile radius would miscarry and all the rest would be so blighted as to become barren from that day forth? What difference between Paul Bunyan who dug Lake Superior as a drinking trough for his ox and Finn MacCool (or, to go Celtic all over, Fionn Mac Cumhaill) who built the Giant's Causeway to call the bluff of a Scotch giant who had challenged him to fight? The folk heroes of American mythology are descended in royal lineage from the gods and demigods and heroes of Scotland and Wales and Ireland, and from Sigurd and Beowulf and Thor himself.

It is not mere fancy to make such a claim. Though the legends from which our epics stem had sunk below the attention of the highbrow world while America was being colonized, the stories, like the language, went on growing in the mouths of the common people, regardless of what the court and the universities talked about. But the tales of Finn or of Guy of Warwick were intertwined with Old World geography; the very bricks and stones were alive to corroborate their truth. Retold in America the legends lacked roots. It was inevitable that the best adventures of heroes who had never heard of America should gradually be transferred by narrators who had never seen Europe to real or imaginary native sons. It is needless to seek as far as Scandinavia for the main elements of the Paul Bunyan cycle, for example. Lumbermen from the British Isles could have furnished them all, long before the Norse immigration began.

Even the twist of surprise or anticlimax at the end, often sup-

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posed to be characteristic of the American story, has its roots elsewhere. Everyone who has seen *Lightnin'* recalls the hero's classic tale of driving a swarm of bees across the plains in the dead of winter and never losing a bee. "Got stung twice" he adds as an apparent afterthought. In the *Mabinogion* Kilhwch, as one of the seemingly impossible tasks he must perform to win Olwen, is required in a single day to gather up nine bushels of flax-seed which had been sown broadcast long before. Like Psyche in the Greek story he accomplishes the task with the help of the ants: "They fetched the nine bushels of flax-seed which Yspaddaden Penkawr had required of Kilhwch, and they brought the full measure without lacking any, except one flax-seed, and that the lame pismire brought in before night."

In short, to anyone who has dipped into British folk literature the whole world of American humorous characters as outlined by Miss Rourke, from Jonathan the peddler onward, is a familiar world with only a few labels changed. We meet that Yankee peddler in Miss Rourke's first chapter—shrewd, sly, and taciturn, disliked in many places because he always gets the better of a bargain, oppressed and made the victim of tricks by his enemies but usually coming out on top by reason of superior cleverness. His Southern customers insult him by telling him that "Down east a cow and calf and a calico frock is said to be a girl's portion"—and the insult is merely a bowdlerized version of "Tipperary fortune" as defined by Francis Grose. No English or Scots or Irish farm lad of the eighteenth century would have been misled for an instant on meeting this Yankee. He is no stranger; he is John Cheap the chapman, or Leper the itinerant tailor, dressed in different clothes and speaking with a different intonation. His adventures are familiar and recognizable—even as Leper the Tailor relates among his other encounters the tale which John Millington Synge took by divine right as the framework of *In the Shadow of the Glen.* Miss Rourke claims Jonathan as a parthenogenetic birth of the American soil, but his father was John Cheap and his grandfather was Autolycus.

Probably the chief reason why these obvious facts have not

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been more generally recognized is that American folk tales have rarely reached the modern reader in their original form. The earliest printed versions are already corrupted and revamped far more devastatingly than were the "improved" versions of old ballads which some of the first editors perpetrated. The rare genius like Mark Twain or Joel Chandler Harris who could *think* in folk language was the exception. Most of the sketches of such early humorists as Augustus Baldwin Longstreet and Johnson J. Hooper—adequately represented in Mr. Meine's *Tall Tales of the Southwest*—are the work of highbrows self-consciously patronizing the people they write about. The style, modeled on the *Spectator* and the *Sketch-Book*, embodies all the worst features of both. The author talks about his subjects instead of letting them talk, and every word or phrase which to his quivering ear is not pure Addisonian English is enclosed in quotation marks. This is not folk literature. One must painfully disinter and piece together the real folk stuff as the archeologist strives to reunite the sculptured fragments of a classical temple which he finds built into a modern Greek pigsty. The simple speech of the people was too low, too vulgar; it must be condescended to and apologized for. Joseph G. Baldwin can write a twelve-page essay on Ovid Bolus, champion liar of his district, without ever giving Ovid a chance to tell a single story in his own words, and even T. B. Thorpe's *The Big Bear of Arkansas*, generally regarded as one of the gems of these early collections, seldom rings true for two consecutive sentences.

Some day, perhaps, before it is too late, lovers of American folklore may realize the importance of setting down prose as well as verse exactly as it is told to them. If that day comes we shall have more books like Mr. Dobie's *Coronado's Children* and fewer like Mr. Stevens' *Paul Bunyan*. And then it should be plain to everyone that American humor it not a new creation, the fruit of some "unrecorded overthrow of all the world has ever known or ever been," but something far more important and significant—the free growth on American soil of a literary heritage as old as our race.

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Social Factors in Revolution

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THAT revolution on the Russian model is inevitable in the United States has come to be almost an article of faith with the younger generation of intellectuals. How and when it will come, by what processes of unrest, violence, and compulsion, are details that concern them little. But our decadent capitalism must, say the new apostles, be shattered by some cataclysmic change. This rotten and irrational civilization, they insist, deserves to die in a burst of blood and fire, for only by such a day of atonement can we be cleansed of our leprosy and start fresh with the innocence of primitive men.

Today more people than at any other stage in the past century are probably agreed that there are radical defects in the working machinery of the social order. It no longer takes much courage to say these things and a host of able minds are analyzing, sifting, and scrutinizing our shortcomings. There is good ground for them to sound the tocsin. These men are moved, clearly, by a genuine and disinterested emotion. It is one which any sensitive soul in this year of our Lord 1934 may well share.

It is the purpose of this paper to attempt an analysis, in the spirit of science and from the data of history, of the social factors in revolution and to draw what analogies we may with the contemporary posture of American affairs. Economic and technological factors lie outside of our intent except as they influence social action. The technical phase has been brilliantly explored from varied directions by such economists as George Soule, Bassett Jones, Stuart Chase, David Coyle, Evans Clark, Paul Douglas, John Strachey, and others.

Many scholars of all shades of opinion have studied the phenomenon of revolution and have concluded that it can be considered sociologically as well as historically, that is to say, that

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recurrent elements are common to all large-scale revolutions and that these may be isolated, classified, and generalized in the form of "social laws" just as a natural scientist treats a biological phenomenon or a chemist the constitution of matter. We shall try here to summarize some of the findings of these scientists on the problem. My debt to many writers is apparent but to none more so than to Dr. Lyford P. Edwards, author of *The Natural History of Revolution.*

But first let us be sure that we have clearly in mind what we mean by the word revolution. Convulsive social changes have not been uncommon in history. Scarcely a month goes by without some happening somewhere in the world which goes by the name of revolution. The word, moreover, is applied to so many kinds of movements nowadays that it has lost much of its pristine sharpness. For instance, the phrase Industrial Revolution, as used by historians and economists, has come to have a definite meaning referring to the introduction of steam power beginning in England about 1770 and the influences that flowed from that momentous event. This produced profound changes, often unnoticed at the time, in ways of living and the alignment of social classes. Some such involuntary shift in economic and technological processes is almost invariably a causal factor in revolutionary situations. And certainly the Industrial Revolution has played a decisive rôle in all succeeding revolutions of the 19th and 20th centuries. But it was not in itself a revolution in the sense which we shall use here. Neither are such spectacular institutional and cultural movements as the Reformation and the Renaissance or the modern emancipation of women, important as they may be from their special points of view.

Revolutionary movements may be grouped into certain broad types by way of concentrating our thought on the genuine, or social, revolution.

There is, first, the *nationalistic* revolution, in which an entire people, conscious of their own racial and cultural unity and spurred by the oppression of a foreign tyranny, rise and throw off their previous sovereignty. Although it is true that many social

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and economic factors were involved the American Revolution of 1776 was essentially nationalistic. The life of the average American colonist was not strikingly different in 1790 from his life in 1760. He had merely exchanged the authority of the British King, Ministers, and Parliament for that of the President and Congress. Though small farmers, debtors, and artisans formed the backbone of the Continental army they at no time attained political or economic power. The primary struggle was between the rising merchants and propertied classes of the colonies and their English counterparts, whose legal restrictions imposed on free competition from colonial manufactures and commerce incited the independence movement. That the same classes remained in control of the new nation may be seen from the composition of the Continental Congresses, the signers of the Declaration, and the conservative character of the resulting Constitution with its many checks upon the workings of an absolute democracy distrusted by such wealthy rugged individualists as Washington, Hamilton, and the Adamses.

Other revolutions of a similar type are those of the Latin American republics against Spanish rule from 1810 to 1830; of the Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs, Poles, and other subject peoples against the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern empires at the close of the World War; of Ireland and of India, though yet incomplete, against British control; or of the Chinese against all forms of foreign domination. The wide world, in fact, is seething with nationalistic or separatist sentiment today, especially where the great powers have, through conquest or imperialistic penetration, held backward peoples in subjection. These movements often go on underground for decades, breaking out ever and again in open hostilities. They may or may not be associated with internal social factors. And of course many revolts may overlap in nature or partake of different types. But broadly speaking a nationalistic revolution is not what we mean by a social revolution. Americans generally, because of their historical origins, have been sympathetic with independence movements and though their record of exploitation in the Caribbean and Central America is nothing

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to be proud of they have just set an example (with very mixed motives) of a ruling power voluntarily relinquishing control of a dependent people, the Philippine Islands.

Second, we may distinguish the *political* or what has been called by some the "*palace*" revolution. This is simply an internal dispute by which one faction or clique of the same ruling classes plots against and overthrows the one in power, usually through a *coup d'état* without the knowledge or interest of the masses. Intrigues of this kind were frequent in the later Roman Empire where, as with many unstable monarchies, the throne changed hands constantly and bloodily according to who controlled the Praetorian Guard. Similar in origin are the multitudinous overturns which have given Latin America a reputation for petty revolutions. Occasionally a dictator-president so grinds the faces of his subjects that all classes unite against him. This is what happened to Machado in Cuba and there was every justification for such a revolutionary movement against one of the most vicious tyrannies in history. But unfortunately the only unity among Cubans lay in their hatred of Machado, and the various groups whose interests are competing for control have been in a state of unstable equilibrium ever since. The administration of Dr. Grau San Martin might have gone a long way toward realizing a social revolution if it had had the frank support of the United States. The present Mendieta Administration which has the blessing of the State Department, while more humane and less corrupt than Machado's, represents substantially the same class interests. The nebulous revolt of Ernst Roehm and his Storm Troopers against the Hitler-Goering-Goebbels group may probably likewise be classified as an incipient "palace revolution."

We come now to the more definitely social types of revolution in which class interests are the determining motive. They may be divided and identified by the specific classes which hope to profit by them. The first to be noticed might be called the *agrarian* and arises of course most readily in a feudalistic society where those who till the soil are held down by their masters to a brute-like existence. At first they were mere blind uprisings of slaves

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as in Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, and Rome—civilizations which existed on the backs of slave power. The natural resentment of oppression among the slaves was intensified when Christianity entered the scene and appealed strongly to all poor and abused classes. In the pre-Christian era, however, in the revolt led by Spartacus the Gladiator in 73 B.C. occurred the nearest analogy that ancient history affords to a modern social revolution. The gladiators, of course, were slaves conquered in foreign wars, badly exploited by great Roman landowners on their estates. They were highly trained in arms and Spartacus was an able, even a noble, leader. Escaping from Mantua he organized slaves throughout the peninsula into a sort of communistic army which for two years maintained itself against the Roman legions but eventually succumbed. All ancient slave revolts were crushed.

In the Middle Ages there were numerous risings of peasants and serfs including Wat Tyler's and Jack Cade's rebellions in England and the so-called Jacquerie in France. The most widespread and best-organized of them was the Bauernkrieg or Peasants' War in Germany in 1522 during the Lutheran Reformation which partially inspired it, but the peasants were poorly armed and were opposed by all the power of feudal chivalry and armor. After the invention of gunpowder the revolting classes had greater chances of success. The serf and peasant revolts were in the main protests against immediate and intolerable injustices with rarely any glimmer of a permanent program of reconstruction.

Modern agrarian movements in the United States form an interesting chapter. For the most part they have worked through political methods, either influencing the old parties to declare for free silver or other forms of inflation or forming new parties to promote their favorite panaceas. The Jacksonian frontier uprising of 1828, the Greenback and Populist movements of the '70's and '80's, the Non-Partisan League, and the Farmer-Labor Party have all aimed primarily at the winning of elections. Once only, in Shays' Rebellion of 1786, did American farmers use direct action to redress their economic wrongs until 1933 when

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the Farmers' Holiday Association went on strike and held nooses around the necks of insurance company mortgage agents.

Since the break-up of feudalism there has been a variety of revolutions aiming at the supremacy of a newly developing class —the *bourgeois*, merchant, or trading class, which in the dawning days of capitalism sought to break the hold of older traditional ruling classes such as the nobility, the landowners, and the priesthood. First exemplar of this trend was the revolt of the English Puritans in 1642 culminating in the execution of Charles I and the elevation of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. The whole period of the 1640's to 1689, including the Restoration, the expulsion of the Stuarts, the adoption of the Bill of Rights, and the establishment of the House of Orange should be looked upon as a unitary process, really the beginning of modern liberal parliamentarism. The Roundhead leaders were distinctly middle-class in their whole point of view, sympathetic to the development of capitalism and the relaxation of royal restrictions on the activities of the entrepreneur. So has been, in fact, the central tradition of the Protestant church, as pointed out by Tawney in his illuminating book, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. The Calvinistic doctrine of interest favored the bourgeois trader as opposed to the medieval Catholic doctrine of usury. The American Revolution, as we have suggested, partook also of this bourgeois type.

The French Revolution, while establishing the great phenomenon of its kind in history and having all the characteristics of a full-fledged social revolution, was nevertheless not a revolution primarily of the proletariat. The urban workers and the peasants were in upheaval, it is true, but the direction of affairs from the fall of the Bastille until the Reign of Terror was largely in the hands of the numerous class of lawyers and petit bourgeois known as the Third Estate and even of liberal nobility like Mirabeau and Lafayette. The Jacobin clubs were not composed of riffraff but of comparatively well-to-do men who paid high dues. Machine industry had not yet come to France and the working class, still organized in craft guilds, was not numerous. Though

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the French Revolution proved in the end abortive and with the rise of the Directory in 1795 full reaction held sway, some broad social gains did persist, later preserved by Napoleon, the kingdom, and the republics, namely, the equality of men before the law, recognized in the Code Napoleon, and the break-up of the feudal estates with the substitution therefor of small peasant holdings.

The 19th century cycle of revolutions was essentially bourgeois, dominated by the growing power of industry and finance, though the unsuccessful Chartist movement in England and the Paris Commune of 1871 were working-class in origin. The rise of the proletariat as a revolutionary class strong enough to enforce its demands has occurred only within the past half century with Russia as the climactic example.

In the contemporary world we find in Fascism a new form of social revolution representing a counter-revolution against the threatening growth of Communism. Previous revolutionary movements of the left always met, of course, with armed opposition but it was a sporadic and intermittent opposition of the existing government weakened by decay. It remained for the third decade of the 20th century to produce an organized cult of anti-Communism in the interest of and financed by the more unscrupulous large industrialists utilizing a disciplined unofficial army composed generally of farmers and the impoverished middle class and small tradesmen of the cities. Fascism has all the earmarks of social revolution, including mass appeal and an ambitious politico-economic program, which neither in Italy nor Germany can as yet be said to have attained its declared objects. In so far as its personnel is middle-class in origin it may be called a bourgeois revolution. But the masking of its true purposes of reaction, together with a semblance of radical philosophy, have obscured its essentially conflicting and probably transient character.

Since the War we have had, furthermore, several examples of revolutions supported by moderate Socialists or Social Democrats which set up democratic republics—for instance, in Ger-

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many, Austria, and Spain. As we can now see, however, and as such Communist intellectuals as John Strachey take pleasure in pointing out, these moderate movements are compromising by nature. They attempt to carry out within the framework of the existing economic system a series of evolutionary reforms supported by heavy taxation of wealth. But when capitalism begins to break under the strain of recurrent depressions the economic base of these social democratic experiments collapses and sooner or later reaction overtakes them, as in the triumph of Fascism in Germany and Austria and the gradual shift to the right of the Spanish Republic which started out as perhaps the most radical democratic government in the world. Whether the better-established "gradualist" democracies of the English-speaking nations will go the same way is perhaps the most important political question before the world today.

This contrast between reform and revolution is worth dwelling on. The essential difference is that with reform the motive power comes from the dominant classes while in revolution it comes from an exploited class. Any social improvement or amelioration which is voluntarily carried out by the existing rulers, even when it is induced through fear or pressure from below, is a reform. For example, the freeing of the serfs by Tsar Alexander II in 1861, the emancipation of the Negro slaves by Lincoln, the establishment of national insurance by the Liberal government of Great Britain in the 1900's, as well as the long series of English reform bills and extensions of the suffrage in 1832, 1867, 1884, 1911, and 1928, are social reforms granted by the ruling classes partly from motives of idealism but also with the hope of anticipating and forestalling more radical demands.

From this point of view, the "New Deal" of Franklin Roosevelt is distinctly a reform movement. It has been widely trumpeted as a "revolution" and many conservatives, of course, consider it such. But Roosevelt himself and his advisers are under no such illusion. They are out to save the essence of capitalism by drastic reforms and if they succeed they will have accomplished something new in history—a voluntary relinquishment of im-

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portant economic privileges over a wide front by the class in power.

We are now in a position to discern the distinguishing factors in a genuine social revolution. It has at least five elements:

1. Apparent rapidity of social change, i.e. the compressing of marked changes in the control of the social structure and in the status of large groups of people into a comparatively few years or months. As George Soule and Lyford P. Edwards emphasize, the period after the actual outbreak of revolution is brief, spectacular, and obvious compared to the much longer period of "incubation" which precedes it and which is an essential part of the revolutionary cycle. Soule also insists, perhaps too dogmatically, that this preliminary period of slow loosening of the old sanctions is invariably marked by important technological changes, particularly in methods of production and distribution, occurring spontaneously and without plan, which bring sharp shifts in the numbers and power of social classes. In his view the important changes of any revolution are already potentially achieved before the tension is snapped by violent outbreak and the actual transfer of control is only a formal recognition of these realities. This theory needs qualification. While it is true, in the main, that the Russian Revolution had its beginnings back in the 19th century and was already well under way by the time of the abortive outbreak of 1905, history will continue to date the main event from the Bolshevik victory of November 1917. Where revolutionary changes occur gradually over a period of a century as they did in England before the World War the term is clearly a misnomer. The Chinese Revolution, beginning about 1911, has so far failed to produce sufficiently complete transformations to justify the title. In short, we must recognize the historical unity of a whole revolutionary period but we may also fairly define the overt revolution, after the outbreak, as a period of intense speeding up of changes which, under an evolutionary process, would occupy a vastly longer time.

2. A movement by one class against another. The first class feels itself exploited, repressed, or oppressed in some way and

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naturally lays the blame on the class in power. Whether or not the conditions of economic hardship which it experiences are directly traceable to the acts of the dominant class makes little difference. There is usually a large psychological element involved. But in any period of hard times the have-nots are inclined to see in the comparative prosperity of the haves the root of their difficulties. In recent times, of course, the proletarian class, notably the urban workers, has been the chief source of revolutionary discontent and it seems probable that with the continued evolution of machine industry the proletariat will become ultimately the only revolutionary class, for it has, obviously, the least to lose and the most to gain.

But before the Industrial Revolution other classes felt themselves repressed, as for instance the merchant class against the landed aristocracy. And in the recent Fascist revolutions the small farmers, middle-class tradesmen, and white-collar workers have believed themselves discriminated against by the Social Democratic politicians who happened to be in control of the government or by the Jews or some other racial group which was monopolizing the best jobs and economic advantages. In any case the class which is exploited, or believes itself exploited, leads in the effort to displace the dominant class from control of the machinery of the state.

3. The use of methods of direct action or force. That is to say, a revolutionary group abandons as futile the effort to win reform by ballot, by legislation, or by the slow processes of evolutionary change and arms itself, if necessary, to obtain its demands. It may not be necessary to show its hand completely or to use guns and bayonets but if it is prepared to do so and obtains what it desires through the threat of physical violence it is, philosophically speaking, using force. No revolution, of course, has ever occurred without some members of both parties being killed. But there are degrees of bloodshed. In the Spanish Revolution of 1931, for instance, or the German of 1918, or the Fascist march on Rome in 1922 there was comparatively little blood-letting.

Modern revolutionaries have made interesting studies of the

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"technique" of forcible methods. They point out that whereas in earlier centuries the object of attack was prisons, armories, gunshops, barracks, and administrative centers, today the struggle is likely to center about electric power stations, railways, and telephone exchanges. Some Communists advocate the winning over of the police and soldiery by propaganda and "boring from within." And in future it is clear that whoever controls the armed air force will have the last word in revolution.

There will be lengthy debate as to whether the weapon of the general strike partakes of the nature of force. It is certainly direct action, exercising a compulsion upon society by the temporary withholding of necessities. But in a temperate people like the British a general strike can occur without serious armed conflict. The San Francisco experience seems to point to the conclusion that the general strike is a boomerang if used to carry merely peaceable conviction by a non-revolutionary labor movement. But the general strike will undoubtedly tend to become a standard device of more radical movements as a preliminary to the seizure of full political and economic control.

4. A social revolution must be aimed at some definite, planned goal or program. Many movements of protest against oppression have occurred in a spirit of blind rage or escape; for instance, the slave and peasant revolts, spontaneous mutinies of soldiers and sailors against autocratic officers, or the farm uprisings in the Middle West against high taxes, mortgage payments, and low prices. None of these movements can be said to have a general social program as they are usually unaware of or indifferent to anything but their immediate grievances. In fact, revolutionary movements on the lowest level of protest, where those taking part are usually ignorant, half starved, and poorly organized, cannot hope to succeed although they may furnish a powerful dynamic for more general group movements if canalized by subtle leaders. For this reason middle-class intellectuals, from Marx to Lenin, have usually formed the "brains trusts" of successful revolutions. It is only when a revolutionary party appears, with a well-disciplined organization, a definite plan of reconstruction for the

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period after seizing power, and the confidence of the exploited masses, that a revolution can succeed. Such a plan must include provision for taking over the executive management of the governmental and economic structure, transportation, agriculture, the courts, medicine, education, and all other essential institutions of a modern society.

5. Finally, a revolution must show results of some permanence, that is to say it must succeed in altering the laws, customs, points of view, distribution of wealth, and actual life routine of the entire population, not only those for whom and by whom it has been carried out but even those who must be restrained and controlled under the new order. This essential factor has been well phrased by Edwards as a change "whereby one system of legality is terminated and another originated." The Paris Commune of 1871 which held power for only a short eight weeks failed to accomplish any persisting changes because it had no clearly thought-out program and no united leadership. In order to produce such changes a revolutionary government, even if created only by a compact minority, must win the tacit support or at least the non-hostility of a substantial majority of the populace to its new mores and legality, particularly as regards property, social welfare, and the coincidence of class and national interests. By the same token it must exercise a considerable degree of repression for a time against those who oppose the new and would return to the old system. By the amount of this repression and the restraint with which it is exercised we may measure the ability of revolutionary leaders. On this score the German Nazis are showing shockingly bad results.

Summarizing these factors we may define a social revolution as: A comparatively rapid change in the control of the state and the socio-economic system, produced by force or direct action of an exploited or unprivileged class against a dominant class, aiming at a definite social program, and profoundly altering the laws, habits, and attitudes of the entire people. Accepting this definition, the only genuine social revolutions in history have been the French Revolution of 1789 and the Russian Revolution of No-

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vember 1917. On the point of permanence only the Russian has been sufficiently successful to warrant predictions and even 17 years is but a moment in history. The odds against successful revolution have been all but insuperable until the 20th century and are still overwhelming.

Let us briefly summarize here the main stages which sociologists have observed as common to practically all revolutionary cycles:

1. A long period of static society.
2. A gradual growth of unrest, usually correlated with spontaneous basic changes in productive processes.
3. A precipitating occasion, bringing on
4. The outbreak of revolution, with seizure of power by the repressed classes.
5. A period of moderate leadership.
6. Counter-revolutionary movements, both from without and within.
7. Rise of radical leaders to power.
8. Period of terror, followed by
9. Either: (a) Triumph of reaction, or
   (b) Exhaustion and voluntary cessation of terror.
10. Slow reconstruction, often punctuated by further interludes of reaction.

This entire cycle, as previously indicated, may cover a very long period of from 30 to 100 years. The active section of it, however, dating from the outbreak of revolution to the complete establishment and general recognition of the new system is comparatively short—say from two to six years—and justifies the designation of rapid social change.

All social scientists find the prime cause of social revolution to lie in the repression or frustration of the principal instincts or desires of an important fraction, perhaps a considerable majority, of mankind and the impossibility of obtaining the customary satisfactions for those instincts under the status quo. It is unnecessary here to enter the debate of the psychologists regarding the nature or entity of instincts. Whether or not one

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denominates them instincts or admits their innateness, all accept the existence in the human organism of certain primary drives powerfully tinged with emotion. They may be of many kinds —self-preservation, security, hunger, acquisitiveness, sex and normal family life, pugnacity, gregariousness, self-esteem, resistance to interference and humiliation; and most of these are operating in any revolutionary mentality. W. I. Thomas has classified all motivations in four wish-groups: 1. desire for *new experience* (curiosity, adventure, travel, exploration, scientific research, vicarious recreation, etc.); 2. desire for *security* (opposed to 1.—caution, conservatism, avoidance of danger and death, solidarity with a protecting social unit such as family, class, community, or state); 3. desire for *recognition* (vanity, ambition, will-to-power, special achievements, ornament, ostentation, pomp, possession, and sometimes heroism or martyrdom); 4. desire for *response* (intimate appreciation of individuals, mother-love, romantic love, family affection, and other personal attachments). As for such negative emotions as anger, fear, hate, and prejudice, these are attitudes toward objects or persons that may frustrate the four major wishes. A society in which these elemental desires find adequate expression through existing institutions is a stable and contented one. Conversely, in proportion as they are not satisfied a society becomes unstable and revolutionary.

In their beginning stages, institutions and social systems are not repressive. When originally adopted or developed they are progressive, are supported by the intellectual leaders, and eventually receive the sanction of law and religion. Finally they harden into rigidity and repressiveness. This process usually takes at least three generations. When a given institution—let us say the Bourbon monarchy of France—begins to function badly and break down the generation then mature have lived under it in the days of its greatness and glory, the reign of Louis XIV. They believe it can be repaired and restored to its former power by minor reforms. Their children still love and venerate it because they have heard their parents tell personal experiences of its suc-

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cess. Not until the third generation, or even later, do large numbers of people have no memory of its original value, while its incompetence and harmfulness are being daily demonstrated and are frustrating at every turn their own elemental desires. In short, man is a creature of habit and tradition. Any institution, no matter how absurd, pernicious, or anachronistic, if it be once firmly fixed in the mores will continue to exist long after its social value has passed, until sheer necessity forces its abolition. Most people will endure great suffering and loss before they will relinquish a once cherished way of life. And any social order becomes stiff and rigid in the course of time.

During this long period of relatively static society certain preliminary symptoms of revolution can be observed though their significance may pass unnoticed by the man in the street. The general characteristic of the period is an increase of social restlessness. It is a vague and indefinite sort of thing, a matter of atmosphere rather than of action. It may manifest itself in a great variety of ways, of which the following are a few:

1. An increase in travel, for no apparent reason. The 18th century French philosophers were highly traveled, as were Lenin, Trotzky, and many of the Russian radicals, partly due to enforced exile. Not only the middle and upper classes travel but there is much movement among hoboes and unemployed persons also. Travelers, of course, are less likely to be provincial than stay-at-homes. They see and learn of new ideas and often return more critical of established institutions. There is also the reciprocal process of radical outsiders filtering into a complacent society and opening the eyes of the people by critical comparisons.

2. An increase in crime and vice, especially among the upper classes. Frivolity, extravagance, and ostentation mark the social affairs of the wealthy. Divorce, insanity, suicide, perversion, and other signs of decadence are conspicuous. These are "compensation devices"—outlets for energy and impulses which do not find normal fulfilment. The licentiousness of pre-revolutionary courts in France, Russia, and England is well-known. Public corruption commonly goes along with private vice.

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3. A growing consciousness of frustration among all classes, due to the "balked disposition" or thwarting of instincts referred to before. Discouragement and defeatism grow. Life becomes stale and objectless to millions. There is an unconscious demand for new stimuli and fresh incentives.

4. This discontent is contagious and gradually becomes social, spreading from one individual to another. Psychologically it resembles the behavior of some lower animals. Cattle in herds sometimes become restless and start an incessant "milling" or moving about in circles, a sort of collective gesture of fear which often eventuates in a stampede. Strikes by oppressed labor groups are perhaps the most familiar modern form of this discontent.

5. People in the repressed group gradually find each other out. They gravitate to each other and establish a "rapport" or group sympathy and cooperation. Numerous local meetings are held for expression of discontent. Some of the bolder and more active spirits may seek escape in emigration, as did the Pilgrim Fathers in the generation just before the English Revolution. But it should be noted that not all the Puritans left England; the majority of them stayed and cut off the head of Charles I. The history of England would have to be rewritten if Oliver Cromwell had realized the desire of his young manhood to get away from it all and settle in Massachusetts. There is a legend that officers of the Crown stopped him at the dock. If they had let him go, Charles might have died in his bed.

6. A high degree of freedom of speech obtains in pre-revolutionary periods. Oratory and propaganda flow freely from mouth to mouth. Mass meetings multiply. Vast floods of printed matter in the form of partisan pamphlets and newspapers, plays, poems, and novels expressing new social theories pour from the presses. New catchwords, watch-cries, and shibboleths are in constant circulation. Group singing is general, and dancing in the streets and other forms of restless activity are later revolutionary phenomena.

7. There is also a general increase of wealth, power, and intelligence among the repressed classes before a revolution. This

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seems contrary to popular belief. But the apparent increase of misery is due to a greater sensitiveness to discrimination. Only those who have tasted the possibilities of better conditions revolt. Revolutions are not usually initiated by classes in the lowest depth of privation. The government of Louis XVI was immeasurably superior to that of Louis XI. But XVI was guillotined while XI was sainted. The American colonies of 1760 under George III were probably the freest and best governed in the world. The régime of Nicholas II was far more humane than that of Ivan the Terrible. In other words, popular reaction to conditions is a matter of relativity to what people are familiar with.

Now these preliminary symptoms of unrest do not necessarily mean that revolution is inevitable. Some reform may occur to forestall further discontent. Conditions in England after the Napoleonic Wars were incredibly bad but no revolution occurred because factory legislation and the Reform Bill of 1832 relieved the most outstanding grievances. If repression and decay continue, however, eventually certain great advanced symptoms appear without which no revolution is ever completed and which, when they occur in intensive form, give reasonable certainty that the upheaval will follow.

The first of these is the *transfer of allegiance of the intellectuals*. In a static society the authors, artists, teachers, scientists, technicians, clergy, and journalists are the beneficiaries of the dominant classes. No matter how important or socially useful their function they could not exist except upon the largess of the established order. They are supported by the overflow of surplus value. Relatively few in number, they are essentially parasites upon the productive processes though they may not be conscious of this humiliating rôle. It naturally follows that, by and large, the intellectuals support the interests of the dominant classes and act as their mouthpieces, apologists, and publicists.

"The true intellectual," says H. B. Parkes, "aspires to be a free spirit; he is not a partisan but a spectator; he achieves greatness to the extent that he frees himself from the ideas peculiar

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to a particular class or race or period." Nevertheless such freedom from political allegiances is rare. The intellectual is no more than human. If you cut him he bleeds. In so far as his brain is keener and his temper more independent than those of the average man he is quicker to see the contradictions in society, its shortcomings, injustices, and inherent weaknesses. Sooner or later the intellectuals begin to discuss, broadcast, speak, and write about these flaws. In the long run no ruling class can maintain its hold without the willing support of the publicists. We are familiar with numerous examples of the revolt of the intellectuals in the past—the French Encyclopedists, for example, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau, without whom the Revolution might never have occurred and would certainly have been long postponed. In 19th century Russia the leading intellectual figures, the novelists Tolstoi, Turgenev, Dostoievsky, and such aristocratic philosophers as Prince Kropotkin became outspoken critics of the existing system. But the Tsars were hopelessly blind to the trend of events. By the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution there was not a first-class mind remaining to apologize publicly for the old régime.

In the early stages discontent is general, diffused, and scattered. The publicists start a campaign of "muck-raking" against entrenched evils and the scandals of those in power are revealed, often magnified by rumor. The belief persists, as Lincoln Steffens and the reformers of the 1900's once held, that if only good men can be put in office the operation of the machine will improve. But eventually the intellectuals become convinced that it is the system itself, not its administrators, that is at fault. They concentrate the attention of the public on the basic institution and from this it is not a far step to sympathetic acceptance of the repressed but rising social class as the source of hope and the reservoir of ultimate power.

At this stage the ruling class may use various tactics of reform, evasion, or delay. It may divert public attention from domestic repressions by ventures into foreign war and imperialism, thus drawing a red herring across the trail of its own incompetence.

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But if war comes and the nation is defeated, revolution is hastened rather than postponed.

The second great master symptom is *the emergence of the economic incentive*. The repressed classes, partly through the revelations of the intellectuals but more especially through their own daily experience of hardship, become conscious of the economic pinch and definitely identify its causation with the dominant class. They develop what may be called an "oppression psychosis"—an obsession that the whole system is against them, that the only object of life is to fight and destroy it. They look for trouble everywhere, find insults and injustices in every act, and blame them all on the owning class. The previously passive discontent is turned into violent hatred; and hatred of a common enemy is the most powerful unifying motive in any group.

The economic incentive may take different forms in different periods but in general it is marked by rebellion against enforced poverty and all that it implies in standards of living and suffering for one's family. Low wages, excessive and arbitrary taxation (as in the French *gabelle* before the Revolution), insecurity and lack of the ordinary stabilizers of life such as homes and land, are the more obvious factors. This "hunger for land" has always been a powerful influence among peasant populations, especially where their eyes are daily offended by the contrast with huge landed estates of nobility. The peasant's ideas on the subject of property are very simple but they include at least the instinctive feeling that the man who works his land should own it. The morals of ownership thus come to be revised and as revolution approaches the impulse to confiscation triumphs over the traditional legal and religious codes of property. "Property is robbery," said Proudhon. In 1917 the Russian people wanted but two things—peace and land. No matter what other reforms were introduced they demanded those two. The Bolsheviks were willing to make peace and divide the land. No other party dared do so and the Bolsheviks won.

Finally, these other great impelling causes must merge in one overmastering faith, which may be called "*the social myth.*"

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All great revolutions have a certain spiritual or mystical basis, a Utopian belief that revolution can and will bring a millennium of happiness and prosperity. The religious nature of Russian Communism has become a commonplace. Its doctrines supply very clearly a substitute for the theistic dogmas which it denounces and seeks to destroy. In the minds of the masses the social goal is somehow identified with the cosmic purpose. In other days this took many forms, not always materialistic. The English Puritans sought to set up a theocracy of pious Protestants. The American Revolution sought a powerful and united nation founded on the rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The French Revolution epitomized its social myth in the slogan "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité." The Russians preached the Gospel of St. Marx with *Das Kapital* as their Bible. But with them all it was the dynamic power of the social myth, the unquestioning faith in the attainment of a perfect state, that made possible their success.

The outbreak of revolution is signaled by some apparently minor event which serves to divide, psychologically and publicly, the repressers from the repressed—for example, the fall of the Bastille, the Boston Tea Party, and the strikes and bread riots in St. Petersburg in February and March 1917—usually the popular answer to some particularly flagrant and provocative act of oppression on the part of the authorities. It takes the form of direct action, a clearly illegal and revolutionary challenge to the old order, and because it occurs at the moment when the public mind is ripe for revolution it demonstrates to all classes on which side their sympathies and interests lie.

The theory that bloodthirsty mobs of proletarians spontaneously arise and play a decisive rôle in all revolutionary crises is not borne out by a careful study of historical fact. Crowd psychology, dominated by emotion rather than reason, is of course in the background of all such events. But it does not always take overt form and when it does it is usually deliberately planned and organized by revolutionary leaders. Serious violence, in fact, seldom occurs in the opening stages of a revolution.

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The chief importance of the outbreak is that it reveals to all the impotence of the existing government to handle the crisis and maintain its control. In a successful revolution by the time the crisis is reached the old régime has become so weakened, divided, and disintegrated under the surface that it crumbles before the assaults of the revolutionists who have already achieved substantial power. The police power breaks down; the armed forces desert or show apathy. And such failure to maintain its authority simply invites further attack from the increasingly confident revolutionists. Usually the old government abdicates without a real struggle.

The leaders who first take power after the overthrow are generally moderate reformers. They are liberals of middle or upper-class origin who have disliked the excesses of the old régime, have had some experience in political and parliamentary methods, and are accustomed to public expression. It is their hope to organize a democratic and humane government, honestly administered, with a maximum of legality and a minimum of violence. In this they may have the support of the majority of respectable, middle-class opinion and for a time an era of optimism is likely to ensue, with the good will of liberal elements abroad. The course of the French and Russian Revolutions was typical in these respects. When the Tsar abdicated in March 1917 a provisional government responsible to the Duma was set up, led by such aristocrats, business, and professional men as Prince Lvov, Professor Miliukov, and later, Alexander Kerensky, a mild socialist. The story of their failure is well-known. The real power was already lodged in the workers' and soldiers' soviets and the ill-advised attempt of Kerensky to continue the War made fertile ground for the rapidly spreading propaganda of the Bolsheviki who in eight short months assumed control.

At this stage of revolution it is evident that there are three main political factors in the equation: the conservatives, who have lost control; the moderates, who have won control; and the radicals, who hope to win it. The future course of the revolution depends on which of these groups ultimately survives in

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power. The conservatives, composed of wealthy capitalists, the aristocracy, and all who prospered most under the old régime are for the moment discredited, their property confiscated or destroyed, their lives in jeopardy, and many of them have fled the country in fear of further reprisals. What more natural than that they should, from the safety of foreign capitals, foment plots for invasions, cordons of reactionary nations, or counter-revolutionary risings to restore them to their despoiled privileges and estates? The great majority of revolutions end in reaction, either through the superior potency of the conservatives or through the ineptitude of the new government. Liberal reformers are by their very qualities likely to be unfitted for the demands of the times. Democratic by tradition, they try to work through committees, assemblies, and compromises when only fast and ruthless action will save the day. Unprecedented economic problems overwhelm them. Keeping the machinery of production and distribution running in such a time of chaos and the breakdown of old habits requires extraordinary executive ability. Moderate governments are especially inefficient in the management of military affairs, and this at a time when military power is of first importance. It is still true that centralized, autocratic authority is the best recipe for a victorious army.

Thus it often happens that lack of discipline, indecisiveness, and failure of supplies under a moderate government bring a revolution to the verge of collapse. Counter-revolution within and invasion from without beset it, as when the "White" Russians under Kolchak, Wrangel, Yudenitch, Denikin, and Kornilov threatened to destroy the Russian Revolution in its early stages. Such a time is made to order for the radicals. Their natural boldness and determination appeal to the public as the only remaining hope of leadership. There is an uncontrollable swing of the masses toward radical measures. The period of moderation may last only a few months or several years but unless reaction triumphs the seizure of supreme power by the radicals invariably marks the later stages of a major revolution.

It is at this point that the well-known phenomenon of the

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"reign of terror" usually occurs. The radicals, having obtained power, are ready and willing to use extreme measures to maintain it for they well know that their lives are worthless if the reactionaries win. Terroristic methods are usually precipitated by internal plots, as when an assassination of Lenin was attempted in August 1918. Two facts may confidently be asserted about the use of terror: it is deliberately adopted by the leaders, not from bloodthirstiness but to frighten the enemies of the revolution into impotence; and its effects are always exaggerated, owing to the credulity of the public and of foreign opinion, and to the rigidity of censorship. The number of persons guillotined for political reasons in the French Revolution did not exceed 3,000 in Paris or 20,000 in all France—an insignificant figure compared to those killed in civil or foreign wars. The victims of the Tcheka in Russia were probably fewer than 50,000. And let no one imagine that such barbarities are a monopoly of Latin or Slavic peoples. The regicide and the Irish massacres of Cromwell are historical facts. And the persecution and hanging of Loyalists by patriots in the American Revolution has had little publicity but was equally effective.

Terror is a psychological cathartic to an overwrought people. The bath of blood sooner or later ends, as suddenly as it began, in a revulsion of feeling and a distaste for further violence. Interest dies out quickly and a period of emotional lethargy ensues. The return to normality is the acid test of the new government. Economic problems now become paramount. Capital goods have been exhausted, manufacture and trade have all but ceased, and financial crises marked by violent inflation and fiat currency are almost inevitable. But that is another story. If the government surmounts these problems and restores productive efficiency, as did Lenin and Stalin, recognition by other governments may be looked for in time and the revolution may be said to be technically over.

In this analysis we have said little of Karl Marx, the prime theoretician of proletarian revolution. His views may be crudely summarized as follows: The real foundation of society is its

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economic structure. All changes in this structure cause corresponding changes in social forms, laws, and customs. Each cycle of productive methods determines the character of the culture of that period and sets up definite classes within it based upon their economic function. A productive system—as, for instance, a pastoral civilization, feudalism, mercantilism, or capitalism under steam power—is born, attains maturity at a certain point when its forces of productiveness have reached their highest efficiency, and then comes into conflict with the property interests of the classes it has engendered, which become a hindrance to its further development. Eventually comes an inevitable explosion which shatters the old system of production, and a new one is originated and legalized. Marx held that the industrial proletariat is the only genuinely revolutionary class. The class struggle finally divides all humanity into either owners or proletariat, the middle class being gradually forced downward into the proletariat by a process of slow radicalization.

Many publicists are now engaged in questioning whether the Marxian thesis will be borne out by a proletarian revolution in the United States. It is unnecessary to point out details in which Marx's predictions have gone wrong or new factors which have arisen since his death and which he did not envisage. How far on the road to revolution has America traveled by the time-table of symptoms laid out by the sociologists? That the United States is now in the preliminary stages of unrest seems fairly obvious. We find a high degree of mobility of the population, an increase in crime and disregard for law in such typical organized forms as gangsterism and racketeering, conspicuous waste and sensualism among the wealthy, a sense of frustration and boredom among many, social discontent manifested in waves of strikes, innumerable assemblages of protest and criticism, both large and small, an extraordinary flux of printed matter and radical theories, and a new consciousness of power among labor and farmers, partly reflective of a new legal and political status.

Of the advanced symptoms of revolution, the transfer of allegiance of the intellectuals seems nearest to realization. The rise

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of proletarian literature is indubitably the most vital and influential trend in the field of present-day belles lettres. Left-wing literary critics, but recently called to the apostolic succession of Marx and Lenin, have all but monopolized the critical scene. Men of the ability of Edmund Wilson, Granville Hicks, V. F. Calverton, Malcolm Cowley, and Clifton Fadiman have abandoned their preoccupation with the symbolism of Proust or the Transcendental school for a socialist concept of literary values. In the Presidential campaign of 1932 a phalanx bearing some of the most distinguished names in American letters signed a manifesto for the Communist Party. The religious and educational professions are in ferment. Such official pronouncements as the recent report of the American Historical Association's Commission on the Social Studies or the resolutions and questionnaires of various bodies of Protestant ministers show a rapid shift to collectivist psychology. Engineers have contributed through such movements as Technocracy. Yet it would be straining the evidence to assume that the opinions of these more articulate and youthful elements of the intellectual classes represent as yet more than a strong minority. It can only be said that if their conversion to radicalism continues at the present rate for another decade the supporters of laissez-faire capitalism will have all but vanished.

The process of radicalization among the masses and the middle class moves far more slowly. The economic incentive and the social myth have not emerged among them in any dynamic form. Despite the miseries of the depression years, the volume of unemployment, the failure of banks, the loss of homes, businesses, and financial reserves, the American worker shows an extraordinary patience under adversity and the white-collar groups are still bemused by dreams of prosperity and the chances of romantic individual success. They float upon an ocean of bourgeois ideas and aspirations. Even Marx would have to concede that the American middle class is the strongest in the world in point both of numbers and of imperviousness to radical ideology. This middle class has a stake in the existing order which it will not relinquish without a struggle. And here lies the seed-bed of a

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potential Fascist movement which many observers believe a more immediately probable consequence of the present crisis than Communism. The raw materials of Fascism lie all about us. But there are forces in America which no Mussolini or Stalin has confronted—the ingrained traditions of equalitarian democracy and of pioneer individualism which still mold the thought of the American farmer and the skilled worker.

In our study of past revolutionary situations, especially in the English-speaking nations, we found that timely reforms granted by a government flexible enough to respond to social pressure have actually averted violent outbreaks. Reform elements in the persons of the New Deal Administration, supported by a substantial popular majority of the electorate, are now in control at Washington. This is not the place to assess the successes or failures of Roosevelt. It is enough to point out that the American governmental system has demonstrated an adaptability to changing economic conditions which few expected of it and which may yet, conceivably, arrest the process of radicalization by opportune reform. It is true that revolutions are accelerated by war, inflation, or general economic collapse. And these hazards are so inherent in capitalism as we know it, to say nothing of the present world situation, that no generalization about permanent recovery is safe.

Yet there are two "ifs" in the American complex today which Marx could not foresee. A growing school of economic thought is drawing a distinction, until now not plainly apparent, between the financial and the industrial functions of capitalism. Veblen and his followers have made clear that the flow of credit and the fluctuations of the price structure are acting as brakes upon a productive system whose potentialities exceed those of any other in history. No nation in any era has yet emerged from an economy of scarcity, whether capitalist or communist. But duly discounting the claims of the Technocrats, the concentration of electric power and automatic machinery in America since the turn of the century offers for the first time to an entire population a "live option" of escape from a régime of scarcity to one of tolerable

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abundance in all of life's necessities. The realization of this escape requires drastic changes in our popular concepts of finance and consumption. But it is difficult to believe that the necessity of these changes will not in time become so apparent to all reasonable men that the transition can be made by peaceful means. In such an economy the class struggle will become an academic question.

The rapidity of social change in the modern world exceeds that of all preceding ages. Ogburn and other sociologists have made familiar the theory of "cultural lag." A soundly conceived progress requires a moving equilibrium of change. The various parts and institutions of our culture are not changing at the same rate. It is at the points where these more rapidly changing functions impinge upon other more slowly moving ones in our highly interdependent civilization that strains are set up which may terminate in revolution. It is notorious that the fields of applied science and technology have outstripped all other social functions in the progress of the past century. Correlatively the so-called cultural lag has been most marked in such social institutions as education, law, religion, the economics of distribution, and the technique of public welfare. The crystallization of law, for example, in the decisions of the Supreme Court has been said to hang from 20 to 100 years behind the realities of economic need. Yet we have recently beheld that presumably superannuated body modifying the validity of contracts, subordinating private property to public interest, and adapting the legal structure to a universally recognized emergency. There is, at any rate, no conclusive evidence that menacing conditions of cultural lag in our archaic social and economic institutions cannot be corrected by an intensive effort of the social will. That such efforts spring only from an informed and aroused adult citizenry is obvious.

The body of our acquisitive society is cancerous with inequity. Only a surgery by creative minds can save it. The chances of social revolution in America hinge upon the courage, the skill, and the imagination with which those minds wield the knife.

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Man's Value and Destiny

Moral Atheism in Spinoza

ALEXANDER LITMAN

IF tradition neglects to allot to Spinoza a share in the miraculous myths commonly attendant upon the birth of great men it is most generous in conferring upon him an abundance of epithets. He was Rabbi Baruch and Saint Benedictus, the most Jewish of Jews and the most Christian of Christians, the very incarnation of the devil and the acme of human and divine perfection. He was sensuous and ascetic; drunk with God and a perverted atheist. Although the bases for these epithets are interesting this paper will endeavor to show the grounds upon which the charge of atheism can be sustained.

That Spinoza from whose lips the word God never disappears should have been considered an atheist is baffling. That the philosopher whose thought is based entirely upon the existence of God should have been reviled as godless compels our wonder. Confronted with this seeming contradiction and in our enthusiasm for the God-intoxicated Spinoza we are wont to consider as bigots and ignoramuses those who accuse Spinoza of atheism. Our admiration for him rivals our efforts at a clear understanding. But problems are not solved by heaping abuse upon abuse and insights are not gained by ridicule. The crux of the difficulty lies in regarding the name atheist as applicable exclusively to those who deny the existence of a deity, forgetting that this term has other meanings. I propose to show that Spinoza's atheism has reference to his doctrine of man rather than to his philosophy of Nature, that it is Spinoza's view of the value and destiny of the individual, of man's station and his duties that caused him to be called an atheist.

A universe in which everything is rigidly intertwined leaves no room for the self-causation of particular things or contingencies; there are no declensions, no swerves, and no breaks. From the fact that all things are completely interrelated and from the

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fact that there is no outside God or Purpose to spin the universe around His finger Spinoza concludes that things were not made for man in order that he may enjoy them; they have no excellency for the sake of which they were created.

Moral terms such as good and bad, beautiful and ugly, and qualitative distinctions such as sweet and bitter, hot and cold, are displaced by the categories of existence and intelligibility; these are the only categories that apply to the world. They apply to all things in nature, to trees, animals, and men as well as to triangles, squares, and circles. When we employ eulogistic adjectives we do so for the purpose of describing the uses things have for us and not the qualities or the virtues inherent in them. In themselves things are neither good nor bad, beautiful nor ugly, neither sweet nor bitter, hot nor cold, they are just what they are and no analysis could ever discover anything besides existence and intelligibility, i.e. mathematical structure. All moral distinctions disappear. There is nothing in nature especially made or created for man, nor does man occupy any privileged status. If there are superiorities in nature they accrue to things because of their place in a system and not by virtue of some miraculous endowments. By denying inherent virtues and by substituting intelligibility in their stead, Spinoza swept aside the world as a means to human ends and made of it a thing indifferent to human wishes and desires. He thus transformed the pent-in finite world of Aristotle into an infinite universe and the scholastic doctrine of the world as a hierarchy of purposes and excellences into an intelligible structure. Instead of a world that is plastic and capable of metamorphoses for man's wishes we find a cosmos responsive only to rational procedure and logical investigation.

Considered in itself Spinoza's view of a rationally ordered universe would have created less commotion than did Bacon's condemnation of "final causes" in nature or the emphasis of the whole modern scientific movement upon the mechanics of things rather than upon their intelligibility. Modern scientists from Copernicus through Kepler, Galileo, Huyghens, to Newton and

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the philosophies based upon this science all united in affirming the rigidity of nature's mechanism and the non-moral and non-qualitative character of the world.

But Spinoza did not stop with the emphasis upon the logical interrelation of things. He dwelt upon the illusions and idle cravings of mankind that must be abandoned with the shift from moral considerations to rational and logical considerations. With the sharpness of a surgeon's knife and a relentlessness unparalleled in human history he laid bare the practical consequences for men implied in his metaphysic. Man likes to think of himself as being able by pleading and prayer to change the course of events; he delights in the thought that things were made for his sake that he may enjoy them; he feels at home in a world in which everything is possible; he prays because he craves an answer, he knocks because he expects to enter, and he seeks in order to find. All these illusions Spinoza relegated to the realm of the imagination by insisting that they have no reference to the external world. It is only when we know that fiction, music, poetry, and religion are modes of the imagination and not of existence that they become harmless and may be looked upon as virtues of the mind rather than as attributes of nature.

The imagination is thus the common sepulcher of all blind hopes and irrational ambitions, all illusions and all fancies. If Lucretius in his determination to free the mind from fears and terrors relegated the gods to the *inter-mundia* in order to dispense with their providential care of the *mundus* and its burning walls, and if modern philosophers in their eagerness to exhibit the mechanism of the world purged it of its secondary and tertiary qualities by stuffing them into the mind, Spinoza freed the mind from fears and terrors and exhibited the mechanism of the world by casting all human fancies into the tomb of the imagination. His catharsis of man and his purification of the mind were so thorough that he stands unrivaled in the history of thought. For never was man more voraciously dogmatic or more prophetically inspired, never more relentless or more convincing than is Spinoza in his opposition to man's irrational ambitions. In the

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appendix to the first book of the *Ethics* his energies crammed into definitions, axioms, propositions, scholia, and corollaries break forth like a cloudburst, washing away the fancies that the human heart divines and the blind hopes that make them that die cease to look forward to their doom. The protagonist of reason was not satisfied in convincing only those who could follow the geometric method; he was also determined to convince those to whom the stark coldness of mathematical deductions might be unintelligible.

In *Prometheus Bound* Aeschylus throws into bold relief the perennial struggle between ill-grounded hopes and rational indifference to them. In the conflict between Prometheus and Zeus we have the conflict between illusion and reason. The cry of Prometheus for blind hopes to enable man to build houses, cultivate gardens, establish cities, and heal the sick meets with the indifference of Zeus. The appeal for man is discarded in favor of divine interests and the symbol of blind hopes is cast into the desolate wastes of Scythia. In the kingdom of Zeus there is no room for irrational philanthropists and defenders of illusions. To feed man on sweets and to condone his vain passions is to betray divine wisdom for the sake of man's friendship. To champion illusions is to abrogate wisdom and to champion wisdom is to defy illusions. By dashing man's impulsive cravings, Zeus and Spinoza lay themselves open to the enmity of mankind, just as by instilling blind hopes in man's breast Prometheus came to be regarded as his benefactor. If the son of Themis was clamped upon the high beetling crags of Scythia for his espousal of man, Spinoza was consigned to the coldness of the gutter for his refusal to champion man's illusions. If the son of Earth incurred the enmity of Zeus and the heavenly hosts by reason of his too great love of mankind, Spinoza incurred the wrath of mankind because of his too great love of Zeus. And if Zeus relegates Prometheus into Scythia, Spinoza confines him in the limbo of the imagination. If, as appears to be the case, Spinoza is declared an atheist on this score the accusation would stand. He would not attempt to defend himself. On the contrary, he would himself

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In 1931 the Biosophical Institute of the Roerich Society, formerly the Spinoza Center, offered a prize for a life-size bust of Spinoza to honor fittingly the tercentenary of the philosopher's birth in 1632. Thirty-two busts were submitted and the work of Mr. Gabriel Kohn, portrayed above, won the first prize. The conception is that of the philosopher as the benefactor of humanity. The jury of judges, whose choice was unanimous, consisted of George Grey Barnard, James Frazier, Fausta Vittoria Mengarini, Pietro Montana, and Howard Giles.

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add his own affirmation to the charge. But Spinoza does not stop with the diagnosis of man's ills, with simply blowing away the "vapours of vanity" that exude from the brain. Having exterminated blind hopes and stripped man of his illusions Spinoza introduces a remedy. The complete disposal of man's vanities is not to be compensated by new phantoms but by wisdom, not by working with stolen fire in the manner of Prometheus but by reason as the guide for human happiness.

Reason is, for Spinoza, a way of knowing, a way that begins with clear and distinct ideas and from these deduces others. Starting, for example, with the idea of Substance, reason is driven by the necessity of its own nature to deduce from that idea a system of propositions descriptive of that Substance. Reason then tells us that Substance is prior to its modifications, that there cannot be more than one Substance, that it exists, that it is infinite and indivisible, and so forth. The source of ideas, as well as the criterion of their certainty and truth, lies in reason itself and not in sensory experience. They are not discovered through the observation of this or that particular thing, which can never be fully grasped, and no experiments are necessary to establish their truth. For, says Spinoza, those who endeavor to find certainty in *things* go astray in the same fashion as do those who search for truth in them. The ideas or concepts of reason are not concerned with the variety of changing things and fluctuating characters but rather with a timeless system of real and fixed entities, with essences. This is what Spinoza means by saying that it is in the nature of reason to perceive things under a form of eternity. Such being the nature of reason it is clear that the order of deduction is not arbitrary but necessary: given clear and distinct ideas, other ideas follow from them with the same necessity as the properties of a triangle follow from its nature.

The pains which Spinoza takes in emphasizing the importance of necessity clearly show how fundamentally vital he regarded this principle to be. Necessity was for Spinoza the Life, the Way, the Truth, the foundation and the anchor of rational life, the stability of the mind and the very essence of its existence. Armed

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with necessity he could survey the cosmic drama with the detachment of an indifferent God and contemplate the universal spectacle with hardly a stir. The vision of universal necessity made it possible for him to hate no man, to be angry with no man, to despise no man, to ridicule no man, and to envy no man. It was this principle that transformed the coldness of the gutter into a haven of rest, and loneliness into communion with eternal essences.

Through his view of the nature and function of reason Spinoza was led to neglect and, to an extent, to belittle the temporal goods of mankind and to pronounce all things that occur in common human life as vain and futile. Consolation is no longer to be found in intercourse with human beings, in political or social values, but in complete disintoxication from their influence. The centre of attraction lies in the field of eternal relations and not in the field of human values.

But the extent to which Spinoza turned from the human, the reactive, and the spontaneous in man's life to the rational and the intelligible can best be seen from his insistence that love, will, and desire must be considered as modes of thought and not as modes of the imagination. Love is no longer the relation between man and woman, parent and child, friend and friend, but it is rather a love whose chief and only concern is with eternal objects for they alone fill the mind with joy. This transformation of love, will, and desire into modes of the attribute thought enabled Spinoza to dispense with the surds, fluxes, complexities, and contradictions that are commonly found in human life. Man's struggles and strivings, loves and hates, pleasures and pains were for Spinoza trivial and paltry, and his treatment of them was as sterile and as cold as the geometric form which he employed in treating them. The man of reason is no longer in need of adapting himself to the complex life of the political animal but rather of seeing himself in the eternal. Forms of government and endeavors to improve man's lot on earth were to Spinoza insignificant. The wise man could be happy as long as there was a power to hinder hindrances and as long as that power remained negative

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in its functions and refrained from obstructing him in his search for divine objects.

Thus in spite of the fact that Spinoza regarded man as a part of the common order of nature and regardless of the fact that he looked upon him as the nucleus of all moral values, man's freedom does not consist in a synthesis of the sum-total of the constituents that form his organic being but rather in transcending all human burdens and in becoming God. Irrespective of the fact that Spinoza brought man back into nature, man's liberty, according to him, consists in an escape *from* the field of action, *from* the field of particular substances, *from* human achievements and defeats, and not in a well-rounded synthesis of them. Man's beatitude, his most total and continuous happiness, his intellectual love, salutation, and embrace of God require him to leave his mortal heritage behind him and to let the dead bury their dead.

Aristotle on the other hand for whom *sophia* was the best of all man's ways of knowing, although the least useful, and for whom the highest possible life for man was the life of *theoria*, never tires in his insistence upon happiness as an integration of all activities. For him man's *summum bonum* consisted in a blending of the human and the divine, of a well-knit synthesis of the life in the *polis* and the contemplative life. The Stagirite did not look upon political activities as trivial and upon the *polis* as a power to hinder obstructions, but rather as the very basis for the actualization of man's potentialities. The importance of man's communal life led Aristotle to the distinction between the life of the Prime Mover and the life of man. Only Pure Form can afford the luxury of continuous and incessant contemplation. Man with his friendships, his social doings, and his political aspirations must be content with "the contemplation of so much of essence as is relevant to a particular life." On this score Plato comes in for a goodly share of forceful criticism because of the rigorous life and the inhumanity to which he subjects his philosopher-kings. How, asks Aristotle, can these philosopher-kings be happy if they are deprived of their own wives, their own

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children, and the ownership of some property, of things which afford so much pleasure to human beings? Even the philosopher-kings of a perfect city cannot be completely happy without some share in earthly things.

Thus, while for Aristotle happiness consists in a proper mixture of the human and the divine and the highest life is the culmination of a continuous ascent from the family through the *polis* to the life of *theoria*, for Spinoza happiness consists in the complete abandonment of all human goods and the total disenchantment from all earthly values. As Santayana writes:

> Spinoza's sympathy with mankind fell short of imagination; any noble political or poetical ideal eluded him. Everything impassioned seemed to him insane, everything human necessarily petty. Man was to be a pious tame animal, with the stars shining above his head. Instead of imagination Spinoza cultivated mysticism, which is indeed an alternative. A prophet in speculation, he remained a levite in sentiment. Little or nothing would need to be changed in his system if the Life of Reason, in its higher ranges, were to be grafted upon it; but such affiliation is not necessary, and it is rendered unnatural by the lack of sweep and generosity in Spinoza's practical ideals.

Such was the transformation that Spinoza wrought in the commonly accepted views of man's value and his destiny and such was the character of the new life which he recommended to man. Man was told to cease being human and to find his highest blessedness in God. Morality was no longer a prudential and deliberative manipulation of mortal goods but a vision of eternal bonds. In squeezing man to get every drop of reason out of him he left man barren and worthless: nothing remained but the intellectual love of God and the eternity of the mind consequent upon it. Man lay crushed beneath the weight of divinity, prostrated by the blows of reason, stripped of all his heritage, illusions, blind hopes, expectations, fancies, and yearnings. He saw the day when all that he believed and trusted betrayed his trust and instead of death as the remedy he was offered the cold steel of reason. Thus while Spinoza glorified the divine he so completely neglected the human that from the sepulcher of the

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imagination the lamentations of Prometheus were heard once again

> but, ah! for wretched man!
> To him nor part nor portion fell: Jove vowed
> To blot his memory from the Earth, and mould
> The race anew.

The lusty core of the human animal rebelled against the prophet of speculation and his indifference to human needs. The operation was too painful for man to remain silent and the cure too divine for him to avail himself of it. For man cannot live by reason alone or by the intellectual love of God and the eternity of the mind. Indeed, even to Spinoza himself the blessedness which he recommended to man seemed beyond man's reach. "If," says Spinoza, "the way which I have pointed out as leading to this result seems exceedingly difficult, it may nevertheless be discovered." He does not tell us how it can be found but rather that it can be discovered *tamen, nevertheless.* At the end of his arduous and most difficult journey he must have recalled the court action against his sister, the emotional outburst against the murderers of his friend, Jan de Witt, the bitter irony directed against his erstwhile student, Albert Burgh, and the futility of his endeavor to smother human emotions into geometric forms. He must have been keenly aware of that little paragraph in the appendix to the fourth book of the *Ethics* wherein he admits the necessity of dealing with human emotions in a non-geometric fashion: "What I have said in this Part concerning the right way of life has not been arranged so as to admit of being seen at one view, but has been set forth piece-meal, according as I thought each Proposition could most readily be deduced from what preceded it. I propose, therefore, to rearrange my remarks and to bring them under leading heads." A human animal cannot be as immune to emotions and spontaneous reaction as God may be, nor can he find his happiness through the medium of geometric propositions. And if he can ever attain such supreme blessedness he can attain it only *tamen, nevertheless.*

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Is American Labor Pacifist?

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WHEN the forces for world peace which have been accelerated or retarded during this past year are catalogued and measured few people will attach much significance to the radical stand taken against war by the American Socialist Party at its June convention. In this as in many other matters the popular judgment can only be tested by time. It cannot be denied, however, that the Detroit proceedings did attract wide attention at the moment on account of the triumph, there celebrated, of a peace policy more "militant" than any to which the Party had previously committed itself. In contrast to the usual innocuous proclamations for peace, arbitration, and disarmament a new and somewhat menacing note was struck in the resolution on the Socialists' attitude towards war: "They will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government by massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups in a united effort to make the waging of war a practical impossibility, and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for socialism."

Students familiar with the history of the international socialist movement will readily identify this threat of a general-strike-to-prevent-war. Making its first appearance in the congresses of the Second International as far back as 1891 the strike proposal was fiercely debated at Stuttgart in 1907 and again at Copenhagen in 1910 without the achievement of any substantial agreement. Since the War, however, it has been verbally approved by conferences of both the Labor and Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions and only last year the British Labor Party reaffirmed its previous endorsement of 1926. So qualified and contingent was British Labor's de-

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cision, however, and so lacking in ardor was the support of the trade unionist element (which developed into outright opposition this past September in the Trades Union Congress) that few people regard it as raising a serious obstacle to war. And with only about 20,000 scattered industrial workers enroled as Party members (of whom there are about 30,000) the American Socialists can scarcely expect that the striking power which they immediately control would provide even as much obstruction to war as that of foreign labor.

However lightly one may be inclined to regard this movement to mobilize the world's industrial workers in a strike-action against an impending war, no one can question the firmness of purpose by which the socialist doctrinaires are motivated. Quite apart from the issue as to its probable effectiveness under specific circumstances, the strike is significant simply as representing one bit of propagandist material in a spirited and determined campaign against war. The substantial and venerable socialist doctrine remains unaffected: that international labor solidarity, manifested by simultaneous peaceful protests and demonstrations is capable, even without the strike, of stopping war preparations. This faith in organized labor's influence for peace has been maintained for nearly a century. It has been preached at labor conventions, thundered forth on propagandist platforms, and blazoned in the headlines of radical news-sheets so repeatedly and so vehemently that it has acquired all the trappings of sacred and inviolable dogma. And strangely enough, as a conviction and perhaps as one of those inextinguishable ideals it survived the hurricane of 1914 which swept over the clamor and protests of international labor and socialist leaders as if they had been but the twitterings of so many fretful sparrows.

But what, it may be asked, has all this "radical ferment" in foreign labor movements to do with American workers? With the exception of a few unions which are affiliated with their respective international trade secretariats, organized labor (as represented in the powerful American Federation of Labor) maintains that tradition of isolation and fear of European en-

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tanglements so long characteristic of American governmental policies. And as was pointed out above, the American Socialist Party, which does have international associations, is simply a small propagandist society; its doctrine scarcely touches the fringe of the vast body of industrial workers in this country. Are these workers, at least those organized for political power in the American Federation, as resolute in their opposition to war as the Europeans profess to be?

Before considering this question it should be observed that while the present isolationism of the American Federation is obviously at variance with international labor's doctrine of solidarity as the prime instrument against war, it does not necessarily follow that the Federation is indifferent to the peace objective. The difference may simply rest in conceptions of political method, in independent action as opposed to collective action. In the field of governmental policy, which offers a useful analogy, the United States in spite of her apparent hesitancy in participating in collective measures has been an outstanding leader in certain phases of the world's peace movement.

On the whole the fifty-year record of the American Federation of Labor in support of plans sponsored by peace movements at various periods is fairly clear. Its earliest action of importance was taken in 1887. Shortly before the Baltimore convention met in December of that year a delegation from the British House of Commons arrived in this country for the purpose of urging a most astonishing thing—a treaty undertaking by the United States and Great Britain to arbitrate all disputes not settled by diplomatic agencies. This, be it noted, was pacifism in an extreme form in the 1880's. No such sweeping treaty had ever been made between modern governments. But the proposal struck a responsive chord in the heart of Samuel Gompers, the fiery young president of the American Federation. He extended an invitation to W. R. Cremer, a British trade unionist and member of the delegation, to speak on the matter before the Baltimore convention. Cremer accepted and his address was well received. A resolution was immediately introduced declaring that "the

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working class—the class that always bears the brunt of war [had] the most profound interest in the establishment and maintenance of peace," and that the Federation hailed with deep satisfaction the arrival of the mission. This gesture of sympathy towards the arbitration project was almost spoiled, it is true, by a few Irish-American trade unionists whose interest in peace struggled vainly to overcome a native antipathy to things British, but their feelings were adroitly mollified when an amendment was tacked onto the resolution: "We also extend our sympathies to the Irish people in their efforts for self-government. . . ." Thus was the peace movement, with its hand-maiden of Irish freedom, championed in 1887. When this joint British-American effort finally culminated in a treaty between the two governments ten years later (which treaty, incidentally, failed of ratification by the Senate) the Irish took the initiative in the Federation convention in attacking the arrangement on the ground that the British government was "unreliable." A negative endorsement by the convention was given the treaty, however, when the Irish resolution was passed on to the Executive Council without the taking of any action.

Although the treaty was thwarted by the United States Senate, the "graveyard" of arbitration treaties, Mr. Gompers entered enthusiastically into the movement supporting the new negotiations in 1904 and secured the backing of the San Francisco Federation convention in November of that year. Again the Senate balked at the proceedings. Labor, however, was persistent in its demands. Two years later when plans for the Second Hague Conference were being discussed the Federation convention at Minneapolis adopted a resolution asking for a general arbitration treaty and a "periodic world assembly." This was no passing gesture, for American labor was thoroughly alarmed over the gradually increasing European tension and demanded action. It was recommended that every local, and every central body and state branch should communicate with its respective members of Congress on the subject. A further resolution insisted that the President be apprised of the aroused labor feeling.

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When the Hague Conference adjourned the following year no one was more disappointed at its meagre results than Mr. Gompers. Doggedly, however, he and other Federation officials kept up the fight for the setting up of machinery for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. A resolution in 1912 favoring the arbitration of all disputes was followed in 1913 by the Executive Council's endorsement of the conciliation treaties which had become the pet hobby of Secretary of State Bryan. On this occasion their hopes were realized, for a vast and complicated treaty structure was set up which constituted (along with the Root treaties of 1908) the American system for the prevention of war down to 1928.

Parallel to the interest of the Federation in arbitration has been its concern with the menace to peace lying in large military and naval establishments. "Militarism and competitive armaments must be abolished," declared the Executive Council in 1914 in its sweeping condemnation of the European War. Long before, in 1898, when the Tsar of imperial Russia had sent out his world-resounding invitation to governments to attend a conference for disarmament, Samuel Gompers had expressed his warm approval of the project. And now in 1914 with the words of the Executive Council ringing in its ears the Federation convention at Philadelphia unanimously approved the typographers' resolution pledging support to any plan for the "disarmament of all nations to the furthest extent consistent with the preservation of law and order throughout the world."

That labor's interest in disarmament was not ephemeral has been demonstrated on several occasions since the War. The action of the Denver convention in June, 1921 in approving the Executive Council's recommendation that the United States cooperate with or take the initiative in calling a disarmament conference had indeed a real political significance, for it strengthened the hands of President Harding when less than a month later he issued his official invitation to foreign governments to send delegates to a conference at Washington. Mr. Gompers and John Lewis were made the labor members of an

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Advisory Commission attached to the American delegation and the Federation organized an intensive campaign, culminating in 200 Armistice Day demonstrations, in support of the conference. In this work Mr. Gompers attained the peak of his achievements in behalf of the peace movement. When his death occurred a few years later the tradition for which he more than any other individual was responsible was firmly implanted in the Federation. The support given the efforts of the American Government at the London and Geneva Disarmament Conferences has been unquestioned and a resolution to build the navy up to the London treaty quota failed to pass the Boston convention in October, 1930. Finally, the Federation has committed itself (1929) to the policy of working for the substitution of government for private manufacture of munitions.

In so far as the collective organization of peace is concerned, labor has also gone on record as being favorably disposed to the League of Nations, the World Court, and the Kellogg Pact. Even before the League Covenant was formulated the Executive Council busied itself in 1916 with elaborating a plan for "a league for peace to adjust disputes and difficulties," with periodic conferences and a permanent court. The plan also provided for sanctions: "Joint use of both economic and military forces of signatory nations could be directed against the offending nation," that is, one engaging in hostilities "against another member of the league without having submitted its grievances in the proper way provided by the agreement." With several features of the Covenant so clearly anticipated it was but natural that Mr. Gompers should expect an endorsement of the League when he returned from Paris in 1919 after serving as a member of the American Peace Commission. The draft of the Versailles Treaty had only been published a few weeks when the Federation met for its convention in Atlantic City in June. In spite of a violent attack against the entire League scheme by Andrew Furuseth, stormy petrel of the Seamen's Union, the favorable vote was overwhelming, 29,909 to 420, with 1,830 abstaining. This decision was reaffirmed by the 1920 convention; since that

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occasion, however, the enthusiasm of the Federation leaders for the League has apparently waned and further commitments either for or against have been avoided. Still, the Executive Council has aided the movement for joining the World Court and only last year the Washington convention urged continuation of the official attendance at the conferences of the International Labor Organization. Incidentally this latter action encouraged President Roosevelt to seek formal membership for the United States this past summer.

Labor's position with respect to American participation in world efforts for peace has kept pace with progressive internationalist sentiment in this country. It is true, however, that William Green, president of the Federation, is a less ardent champion of a collective peace system than was Samuel Gompers but allowances must be made for the increased concern of the Federation's Executive Council with considerations of political expediency. It is indeed improbable that the Council would revive the League issue unless it were encouraged in high quarters to think that such action might have fruitful results so far as the administration is concerned. But a firm support of the Kellogg Pact was manifested in July, 1932 when, during the Japanese invasion of Manchuria, it expressed its sympathy with plans to make the Pact more effective if this could be done in a manner that would "adequately protect the people of the United States." True, this apparent readiness to see the collective system strengthened was not entirely shared by the October convention, whose committee hoped that "thorough tests of the treaty in its present form [would] be made before any element of physical force, even though of a negative character, is made a part of the procedure to be followed in the application of the Pact to specific cases."

But labor's record in itself offers no assurance that the Federation would oppose a particular impending war. The same, indeed, applies to the activities of many so-called "peace" organizations. Peace as it is usually advocated is a delightful and innocuous abstraction, free from the storms of emotion which

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are immediately aroused when a specific grievance develops against a specific nation. When newspaper columns scream aloud the atrocious deeds of some upstart foreign nation in trampling on cherished American "rights and interests" it is not easy to stem the surge of indignation. And yet if ever a calm and patient stand for peace by powerful political groups within the country is needed, then is the time. The strain is invariably tremendous, for the impulse is to rush to the traditional weapons of war as a means of "avenging the wrong." The small, still cry for peace fades away before a thunderous demand for a high and noble crusade on behalf of human rights so ruthlessly crushed by the foreign despot. Like the majority of other citizens, leaders of the American Federation experienced this tempest of emotions in 1898 and again in 1917. They clamored loudly for Cuban freedom and gave generously when war came. They raged against the tyranny and effrontery of German militarism and joined exultantly in the holy war. "It is an imperative duty from which there is no escape," the Executive Council solemnly pronounced in 1917, "that wage-earners as well as all other citizens of this Republic support our government in its righteous effort to defend principles of humanity and to establish democracy in international relations. Because we desire permanent peace it is our duty to fight and sacrifice until these purposes can be achieved."

There is every likelihood that, if the circumstances of 1917 should be tragically repeated, labor's ideal of peace would collapse just as swiftly in the presence of these other ideals. In a moment of calm deliberation in 1927 the Committee on International Labor Relations at the Los Angeles convention stated labor's position frankly: "We are not pacifists. We stand ready to fight for our political rights." We will never give up our right to fight, continued the Committee, "if honor, justice, freedom and self-preservation cannot be otherwise preserved." Has ever a war been fought in modern times which did not involve these principles—for both sides? How, indeed, does the Federation reconcile this position with its unqualified endorse-

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ment the very next year of the Kellogg Pact which in its second article states: "The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement of all disputes or conflicts *of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be* (italics mine), which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means?"

Pacifism, if it is to mean anything, would manifest itself in a demand for the use of conciliatory methods of diplomatic consultation and arbitration even when the nebulous principle of "national honor" is at stake. This would imply the cultivation of a habit of mind readily disposed, so far as national interests go, to accept compromises, and "defeats as well as victories."

But let this be admitted, the sceptical labor leader may argue, what is the United States to do if a similar, determined, pacific disposition does not dominate the policies of the other country? It takes only one to make a war and two to keep the peace. There is merit in this argument, but it is an argument with implications of serious responsibilities for labor and with similar implications for every private, peace-minded organization whose interests and loyalties are closely tied up with those of related organizations in other countries. It is indeed true that peace forces operating independently in one country are of little service if there are no similar forces in the country of the potential enemy. But if these peace forces be part of an organized international movement, acting in response to some central authority, a simultaneous pressure may be brought to bear in both nations. And this need involve no sympathy with the "case" of either government but simply a demand that both shall use only pacific methods in the settlement of the dispute. In countries neutral to the dispute the same pressure may be exerted on the respective governments to extend their "good offices" or to initiate a meeting of the Council of the League of Nations as provided in Article XI of the League Covenant. This is the type of action that the international labor movement has long contended might be efficacious, the type Samuel Gompers was thinking of in 1907 when he said, "it must never be forgotten that in the last analysis the masses of the people in every country have it in their hands to

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exert their own giant will and power against international war, and that if otherwise thwarted they will not hesitate to exert it."

In earlier days, particularly under the impetus of Gompers, the American Federation of Labor was cordially disposed towards the international labor movement. Indeed for a brief period—from 1910 until its virtual suspension by the War and again in 1919 and 1920—the Federation was formally affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions whose headquarters were, and still are, in Europe. In 1920 the American leaders clamored for more group autonomy and fretted about socialism until they finally eased out of the international alliance. Like the State Department they went in for hemispheric self-sufficiency and sought to weld an instrument known as the Pan-American Federation of Labor to replace the European connections.

Although the Pan-American Federation has existed largely on paper since its last conference in 1927 the experience it offers for American-Mexican relations is very instructive. The close relations which for a number of years after the Mexican revolution in 1910 developed between the American and Mexican labor movements contributed to the maintenance of peace between the two countries. Together they fought against American intervention. In times of crisis Mexican representatives came to Washington and conferred with the Executive Council of the American Federation as to what conciliatory adjustments they might propose in the policies of their respective governments. Because they regarded American intervention or a Mexican-American war as directly contrary to their own joint interests they could work together for a common purpose. No better example is needed of the potentialities existing in the cooperation of labor movements for peace. The conditions of cooperation, it is true, must be right. On April 2, 1917, a few days before Congress declared war, it was but a futile gesture that Gompers made in his cable to the German trade unionist, Legien, that "we are all doing our level best to avert actual war and we have the right to insist that the men of labor of Germany exert their last ounce of effort"—to get the German government to meet American

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demands! Gompers himself was convinced that Germany was the aggressor and the German trade unionists' hands were tied because of the exigencies of the War in Europe.

What are the prospects today? American labor's relations with Mexican labor have not been smooth and it is uncertain whether they would stand the strain of threatening war. Relations with the Japanese labor movement were particularly friendly when it was struggling to get a footing in 1916 and 1917 but the immigration controversy has been responsible for keeping the two movements apart since the War. In the case of Soviet Russia the violent antipathy of Mr. Green and his associates towards everything Communist has been little alleviated by the reestablishment of diplomatic intercourse between the two governments. Relations with the British Trades Union Congress are the most cordial of all. Every year for the last 40 the two great national labor conventions have exchanged fraternal delegates with each other. About 80 American trade unionists, including most of the influential leaders, have attended sessions of the British Trades Union Congress during these years and a similar number have come to American labor conventions from Great Britain. Through these contacts there have been built up ties of personal friendship and mutual sympathy which would be of immense service in producing concerted action for peace if serious trouble arose between the United States and Great Britain.

The friendly connections with British labor have had important consequences within the past few months. In the first place they probably influenced the American Federation's decision to move towards Geneva. With the United States now a member of the International Labor Organization the Federation will join the government and industry in sending delegates to the Organization's conferences. American labor will thus be drawn into continuous contact with foreign labor. Its genuine interest in the new venture was manifested by the presence of Mr. Harold B. Butler, Director of the International Labor Office, at the Federation's San Francisco convention this past October. Moreover, the presence at the same convention of Mr. Walter M. Citrine,

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a British trade unionist who is president of the International Federation of Trade Unions, was also significant. Impelled by a confidence in British leadership and by a growing concern with the menace of Fascism to continental trade unionism the convention adopted a resolution recommending that the Executive Council reconsider the question of affiliation with the International Federation. This body has been crippled by the loss of the powerful German section and would joyfully welcome American support at this time.

The prospects for American labor cooperation with foreign labor movements seem, therefore, to be increasing. Labor leaders insist that such collaboration would be economic rather than political and therefore without significance for peace. Let this explanation of purpose be admitted. But even admitting further that American labor's devotion to peace is today tepid, contingent, and vulnerable, the fact remains that the relations with British labor already contribute to peace and that the understanding with Mexican labor triumphed for some years over governmental differences. Should the American Federation of Labor extend the range of its friendships that action could, and might, be serviceable for international peace.

The Man Beneath the Mountain

(In Memoriam, D. H. Lawrence)

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER

YOU will not find the fire that fell from heaven
Until you dig beneath the roots of mountains
To seek it out. I know, for I was given
Life on the margin of a strange dark country

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Where men lived underground. At noon and evening
I heard, like trolls, their picks and hammers ringing
Far in earth's depths. Dark folk with faces grimed
And lanterns twinkling in their caps, went by
Uttering nothing. They were caught and whirled
By great stiff wheels that spun them on long threads
Into the vitals of the earth to hide
Their secret struggle, at the inner core
Of the world's fiery heart. The land that they abandoned
Was bleak and desolate, scarred with heaps of slag;
Hills crowned with grey stone cottages, wherein life
Fumed between sleep and death. No blaze of daylight
Broke the spun wreaths of smoke. A disk, metallic,
And faint, replaced the sun. Life had gone under
A great black surface of coal, wherein, in darkness,
'Mid water-drippings from the tunnel-roof,
Coiled like white dragons, gripping the hostile coal-face,
Men hacked and hewed, seeking the buried sun:
A blaze of heat that sideways flashed and seared
Them to quiescence, settling their long torment,
A fire shaft at the root of the life-tree hidden,
A Rhinegold buried beneath waves of earth.

Afar off to the summits trudged the mob:
Multitudes walked the streets of alien cities,
Unheedful of the abyss where I lived on;
And all about them, prophets raved and screamed;
The new Prometheuses stealing fire from heaven,
Coiners of science, utterly daft and crazy,
With sexless light, the dead half-sick reflections
Of gods long dead, born of the upper brain:
I did not heed them, I saw only ghosts
Rise from the gulf and conquer hill and hollow,
With flame released from earth, the smouldering passion
Of the long labor and revolt of men.

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Was I to heed these others and deny
The blood that coursed like sap of ancient forests
Deep in my veins? I lit my lamp and, steady,
Climbed down the long shaft of my miner-self,
Seeking the buried flame. I slipped and slithered
Down through my consciousness, butting my head 'gainst walls
Of cold denial, threading great hollow chasms
Where waters steadily fell, and menacing echoes
Muttered about the floors. Still on, undaunted,
I crawled beneath earth's roots. And here a flicker
Gleamed for a moment, faint. I strove to seize it;
It crumbled into dust. Yet at the last
I found the tough core of the central fire.

But when I got back to the earth with gold,
Pure gold of intense manhood in my hands,
Refined in quickening fires, renewed in labor,
Folk laughed at me. They said, "Dross from the depths
Not the pure gold is this; as for your flame,
We warm our hearts at better." So at last,
Abandoned 'mid the wreckage of my hopes,
I yearned to make earth desert. Not a tree
Would I leave standing, not a human house
Would I keep upright. Let the blaze burn and carry
These vegetable bulwarks that sustain life, feeble,
As ash back to the sun. I would walk out, alone,
On new-made earth. A wilderness of mountains
Covered with grass about me; beasts would gather
About my feet; and far off in the sea,
The whales would plunge and spout, the sky would fill
With wildfowl wheeling. Burdens of pain and sorrow
Would slip back to the night. Naught would remain there
But great prairies, rank with dew-drenched flowers,
Red tiger-lilies ripe for the wild bee's labor;
While in the night the milky way, downstreaming,
Would lure my feet to tread its path of stars.

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Henri Fabre, Educator and Naturalist

CHARLES BUXTON GOING

HENRI FABRE was an extraordinary example of sporadic genius. He glowed like a great intellectual flame, unheralded by the faintest gleam of similar light among his forebears, unreflected in any afterglow among his descendants. He describes himself as the offspring of "ploughmen, rye-sowers, cattle-drovers . . . whose evenings were lighted by a pine stick burning on a bit of slate stuck into the wall; who sheltered themselves in the sheepfold when the great cold came, and there listened to the howling of the wolves close at hand." Whence came the gifts that made this Provençal peasant not only, as Darwin called him, "the incomparable observer" but one of the greatest minds of his day—the intellectual companion and warm personal friend of Frederic Mistral the poet and John Stuart Mill the philosopher? In Fabre's own words "there is no answer."

His life, outwardly obscure almost up to the end, inwardly was always intensely vivid, a drama of conflict with circumstances and of suspense in achieving the passionately desired freedom to devote himself to natural history—a freedom often seemingly just within grasp but as often tantalizingly snatched away. As a drama it unfolded in a prologue and three acts: the prologue of childhood and youth from 1823 to 1842, wistful, poverty-stricken, yet shot through with flashes of wakening genius; the first act discovering Fabre the teacher at Carpentras, Ajaccio, and Avignon, and tracing these years of bitter bondage from 1842 to 1871; the second act, built around Fabre, the free-lance author at Orange, winning by his text-books the price of release from the yoke, bringing the action down to 1879; and the third

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act presenting Fabre the naturalist at Serignan and passing into the quiet finale and the last curtain in 1915.

It is by these last years of scientific work only, the years between the ages of 56 and 92, that the world generally recognizes him. The earlier half-century of struggle and evolution is scarcely known even to many of his disciples.

Of the prologue little can be said here though it inspires some of Fabre's most moving autobiographical chapters. It shows us a poor country boy eagerly questioning earth and sky and filling his pockets (to his parents' despair) with treasures from field and brook as he herds his ducklings; a child whose eyes seek the moving branches and fluttering wings as he attends hedge-schools and serves as altar-boy to help pay for his miserable tuition; and then a lad sadly putting his beloved nature-study aside as an unprofitable distraction that "could not get him anywhere," resigning it with a sigh to concentrate on the dry studies necessary to win him his *brevet*, the indispensable preliminary to a position as teacher and bread-winner.

Fabre was nineteen when he took up his task in the primary school at Carpentras at a salary of 700 francs a year. Looking back to his antecedents it may have seemed a long step outward toward the light, but by our standards the surroundings appear appalling. The life, as he recalls in his *Souvenirs Entomologiques*, "suggested the cloister. Each master occupied two little cells; for on account of the modest pay, most of them lodged in the institution and ate in commons at the principal's table. Inside the four high walls I caught glimpses of the court, a sort of bear-pit where the pupils wrangled under the branches of a plane-tree. All around were openings like wild-beast cages, without light or air; these were the class-rooms, sweating gloom and dampness. For seats, a plank let into the wall. In the middle, a chair widowed of its straw seat, a blackboard, and a stick of chalk." And the scholars—"a half-hundred children and big boys, dirty, rough young scamps." Unpromising as these first charges were, Fabre controlled them, displaying from the start an instinct for giving zest to the study of serious things, and he

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not only taught them the reading, writing, and figuring which were the prescribed limits of the curriculum but led them on into other subjects as he mastered them himself. The zeal for teaching supported him while he took up, alone, physics and chemistry with "an impossible home-made laboratory, and apparatus consisting of pipe-bowls for crucibles and anise-seed bottles for retorts." He mastered algebra, of which he says he "knew not a single word" before he gave his first lesson in it. Greek, conic sections, analytical geometry, and even calculus were overcome by solitary study during spare hours. And thus, eagerly, amid the sordid daily surroundings of the Carpentras school, Fabre equipped himself to pass in rapid succession his two baccalaureates and to secure the two licenses entitling him to professorships, the one in mathematics and the other in physical science.

He had not yet gauged fully his gift for natural science or its significance. Botany and zoology delighted him as recreations, but his objective was a professorial chair in the older "dead" branches and self-instruction offered the only hope of winning it. Even thus early, however, before six years of teaching apprenticeship were over, he found himself struggling amid a "mob of intriguers, sycophants and imbeciles who beseiged every vacant post." Chairs at Tournon and Avignon slipped in turn through his fingers. It was difficult to extract the miserable pay in the Carpentras primary school. His rector was indignant at the injustice done to a youth of such rare value and Fabre himself seems to have been ready to renounce pedagogy forever if he had known where else to turn. Not until 1850, however, was the door opened upward to a professorship of physics at Ajaccio, Corsica, at a salary of 1800 francs.

Looking backward over his completed life the three years spent at Ajaccio stand out as the first great turning-point in his career. There were two or three other epochs crowded with influences shaping his final supreme mission but the period from 1850 to 1853 appears the most vibrant and perhaps the happiest. Surrounded by the exuberant Mediterranean flora and fauna he seems to have plunged into a sort of intoxication of collecting and

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study. It remained only for certain older scientists of the Midi to give the final bent to his preoccupation. Requien, an eminent botanist of Avignon, opened to him new horizons in the plant world, and Moquin-Tandon, the great naturalist of Toulouse,

Courtesy of Appleton-Century Company.

set his imagination lastingly aflame by demonstrating to him the anatomy of the snail—to show him an interest more vital than mathematics or even shells. "This," says Fabre, "was the only never-to-be-forgotten lesson in natural history I ever received in my life." From that moment he passed from the study of dead

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forms, the classification of dried specimens, to the living creature and an inquiry into life itself. Lastly, Leon DuFour, a famous entomologist of the Landes, by indirection (in fact, by the publication of erroneous conclusions which Fabre disproved in his first important paper) concentrated Fabre's attention upon insects. His goal was revealed. "Geometricians are made," he wrote to his brother in 1852, "naturalists are born. You know, better than anyone else, that natural history has always been my favorite science."

But the way to his new objective was not clear, for zoology of itself was not lucrative. He must live by teaching and this left no time for nature-study afterwards. Further, he had no apparatus. He worked when he could with what he had. "I am dissecting the extremely minute" he continued in the letter just quoted; "my scalpels I make myself from fine needles. My marble slab is the bottom of a saucer. My subjects are housed by dozens in empty match boxes." With his new outlook Fabre's aspirations were changing. While his aim was still a University post he now wanted one which instead of being hostile to the pursuit of natural science would open freer opportunities for it—a changed point of view revealed in a reference to his dream of winning a chair in some faculty where he could "talk creatures and plants" exclusively. That dream, however, was never realized. He was called to Avignon in 1853 as adjunct professor of physics at 1600 francs a year but though he won his doctorate of science and the Montyon prize of the Institute for entomological discoveries—though he debated triumphantly with the greatest naturalists of his day, even the giant Darwin—he went the treadmill round of the physics classroom at Avignon for 18 years without advancement and with only a meagre increase of pay for added duties in the teaching of graphics.

The prospect of finding freedom for the pursuit of entomology actually seemed to fade as fast as his passion for the science rose. Hope within the faculty was gone. Could he win, outside the university, perhaps in industrial chemistry, the modest capital on which he could live independent of a professor's duties and the

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ravenous demands on a professor's time? He turned his attention to madder, the staple dye-crop of the region. Existing methods of using the plant were crude, the results uncertain and often disconcerting. Fabre attacked and solved the problem of extracting and standardizing the coloring principle and reducing the dyeing operations to scientific accuracy. The discovery was hailed with joy in the industry. The first factory was under construction, its walls going up, commercial success, financial independence, were almost within grasp, when the German discovery of synthetic alizarine drove natural madder and all processes dependent upon it competely out of the market. But though that door to the fields was slammed shut, fate was preparing her next moves.

Two important extra-mural activities marked these later years of Fabre's professorship at Avignon. One was the preparation and delivery, under the initiative of Duruy, Minister of Public Instruction to Napoleon III, of a series of lecture courses established by the municipality, and of a second series alternating with the municipal two evenings a week. The municipal courses were designed to teach applications of science to agriculture, industry, and the arts. But might they not, Fabre thought, enlist another class of auditors—those who were interested in the vast play of forces governing the universe, whose minds might be opened to new and marvelous horizons—and he argued the point eloquently with the authorities. But can we not even today sense the reactions of an average city council or board of aldermen? The end was foreshadowed from the beginning. The other course was yet more thickly sown with seeds of trouble. Duruy, like Fabre a child of the people, was the great modern liberal in French education. He founded the lay schools, emancipated elementary and primary teaching from ecclesiastical domination, and built anew the whole secondary system. It is said that he tried to induce Fabre to take charge of the education of the Prince Imperial, but the atmosphere of the Court was stifling to the naturalist and he could not be tempted from his countryside with its wealth of material for study. Failing in his first plan the Minister enlisted the professor in a broader one—in a project

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for adult evening classes planned for workmen, peasants, bourgeois, and (most revolutionary of all!) young women—the purpose being to fill the gaps left by the ordinary schooling.

Among the generation of the day Fabre's free lectures in the old abbey of St. Martial became famous. The hall was crowded. But in conservative circles, teaching science to the masses was regarded as dangerous and teaching women was a heresy and a scandal. There were murmurings among the sectarians, a rising intolerance among the hangers-on of the University, the gradual collection of a mob, moving toward an intellectual lynching. Duruy had already gone down before a massed clerical attack and Fabre was far from receiving from his colleagues a sympathy and help sorely needed. Many indeed were jealous of the teaching success won by this "irregular child of his own studies." To the indignation of his pupils he was denounced from the pulpit as a subversive and dangerous man, and finally the old maids from whom he rented his house, making themselves the tools of public or class rancor, turned him out summarily and brutally. The chemical ventures had exhausted his savings; he had not even money enough to pay for the enforced moving. A loan from his friend John Stuart Mill (splendidly made and later splendidly repaid) saved the day. Fabre shook off the University yoke in disgust and betook himself to an isolated house in the fields outside Orange.

That was in 1871. The problem of living was acute and for some time was met literally from day to day. But Fabre with patient courage faced the new difficulties pen in hand, determined, as he put it, to "see if the inkwell could not be made to yield what the madder-vat had refused." He threw himself into the bread-winning work of preparing text-books, devoting the range and depth of his knowledge and the experience of 30 years in the classroom to the end of making science, and especially nature study, simple and alluring to beginners. Though no longer regimented in any school his influence as an educator thus spread from the limiting city walls of Avignon to the youth of all France. And although political influence later displaced his text-

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books from official favor and financial anxieties again for a time beset the author, the publications had served their purpose as "the ransom that set him free" and a number remain in circulation still, delighting the children of many lands.

In 1878 Fabre published the first volume of his *Souvenirs Entomologiques*. It had taken the spare time of 25 years, despairingly occupied otherwise in the drudgery of earning a living, to collect enough of his scientific studies for this book. A few months afterwards he was able to realize his lifelong dream and buy a little property at Serignan, "l'Harmas," to which he retired to give himself over wholly to the studies of insect life by which he is now everywhere known. In some autobiographical notes in *The Life of the Fly* he speaks of this retreat as

> a bit of land cherished in my plans to form a laboratory of living entomology, the bit of land which I have at last obtained in the solitude of a village. It is a *harmas*, the name given in this district to an untilled, pebbly expanse abandoned to the vegetation of the thyme. It is too poor to repay the work of the plough. . . . My dear beasts of former days, my old friends and others, more recent acquaintances, are all here, hunting, foraging, building in close proximity. . . . This is the Eden of bliss where I mean to live henceforth alone with the insect. Forty years of desperate struggle have won it for me.[1]

One must read the whole chapter to realize what this move meant to Fabre. Nothing else that he has written, perhaps, reveals so much of his ideals, his philosophy. Expression seems fused to a glow by the intensity of his emotion, for it was the climax of a lifetime of aspiration and the dawn of another lifetime of realization. And yet, paradoxically, just at the scene in which Fabre takes the stage in the rôle in which the world knows him best (the only character in which most of his readers know him at all) the biographer finds that narrative materials—plot, situation, incident—have given out. Nothing seems to remain but atmosphere. This is so, of course, simply because the struggle

[1] This property, just as Fabre left it, with all his priceless collections, was acquired by the State a few years ago to be maintained in perpetuity by the French Republic as a memorial museum and entomological research station under the Ministry of Public Instruction.

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with Fate and outside circumstance was over, was won. Thenceforth his energies though just as intense were focussed within the four walls of his garden and the drama of his own career yielded the place of interest to the multitude of strange life-stories of which he in turn became dramatist. For nearly 40 years thereafter we follow him by his writings.

Nine more volumes of the *Souvenirs* embody the fruitful results of the remainder of his life. Through these works of his riper years Fabre, finally separated from formal pedagogy, has taken his place among the great educators of the age. He has given that which is often the educator's greatest gift to his disciples, a new dynamic point of view. He has succeeded in implanting in others his own passionate constructive curiosity concerning the mysteries of the natural world and he has proved that it is open to anyone to follow the paths he mapped. His own laboratory was equipped only with apparatus borrowed from the kitchen of a household that was peasant-like in its austerity. He declared:

> Nothing is small in the majestic problem of things created. Our laboratory aquaria are worth less than the print of a mule's hoof in the clay, when a shower has filled the humble basin and life has peopled it with its marvels. . . . Means of access to the secrets of life are simple, improvised, costless. What have the best results of my studies of instinct cost me? Nothing but time, and above all, patience.

NOTE.—The *Souvenirs Entomologiques*, a sequence of widely diversified studies of insect-life and behavior—especially the manifestations of instinct—were originally brought out by Delagrave of Paris, simply assembled in volumes chronologically as they were completed. In the English translations (which comprise a very large proportion of the whole) the studies have been rearranged and grouped by subject. See: *Social Life in the Insect World* and *Wonders of Instinct* translated by Bernard Miall (Appleton-Century), *Life and Love of the Insect* (Macmillan), *The Life of the Spider, The Life of the Fly, The Mason Bees, Bramble Bees and Others, The Hunting Wasps, The Life of the Caterpillar, The Life of the Grasshopper, The Sacred Beetle and Others, The Mason Wasps, The Life of the Scorpion,* all translated by the late Alexander Texeira de Mattos and the last ten published by Dodd Mead & Co.

The text-books and juveniles include the *Story Book of Science, Secrets of Everyday Life, Field Farm and Forest, Animal Life in Field and Garden,* and *Our Humble Helpers,* all translated by Florence Constable Bicknell and published by the Appleton-Century Company.

Two biographies are available in English: *Fabre, Poet of Science* by Dr. G. V. Legros (Appleton-Century), and *The Life of Jean Henri Fabre* by his kinsman, the Abbé Augustin Fabre (Dodd Mead & Co.). Both are translated by Bernard Miall.

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New Lights on the Human Body

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MANY, who learn, come inevitably to the conclusion that by far the most wonderful machine that has come into existence on this earth or can even be conceived is the human body. This machine throughout its structure and work is based on mechanical principles. To its minutest details it is living physics and chemistry, but physics and chemistry reaching to such sublimation as in other machines can but seldom be reached at any one point or in one limited field and never approached in general.

This machine works by what is known as the life-force or briefly *life*. Just what this "life" is is not yet certain, notwithstanding intensive and ages-long speculations about it. What is settled is that this motive-something can only act as long as all the "vital" parts of the body are sound or nearly so and as long as the chemistry or mechanics of the body are not seriously impaired. When impaired to a "lethal" degree life ceases to operate and the machine from that moment begins to decompose, progressing in this until after a shorter or longer time nothing is left but "dust" or "ashes."

Such is the first-impression picture of the living human organism in a fairly distant perspective. But if we approach nearer and regard this living unit closely and with the aid of science we soon discover that instead of a single wonderful machine we are confronted with a whole complex of machineries each one of which performs a definite and distinct line of work. The living human body is then seen as a vast factory full of separate and widely differing machines, all of which have in common only that they were developed from the same original—embryonic—material, that they are run by the same "current," and that they "work" under a highly perfected centralized coordination.

These separate machines of the human (as well as other) bodies we call "organs." Many of these organs, such as the eyes, lungs, reproduction-glands, are doubled, to give additional quantum of safety; others, such as the heart or spleen or stomach are simple; while still

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others, such as the nervous ganglia, the sweatglands, the hair-follicles, are multiple.

All these organs, under the influence of inherent potencies which gradually become focused in what is known as the trophic nervous centers, develop from the seemingly homogeneous embryonal tissues and each assumes a definite substance as well as an intricate organization of its own, which fits it for its life work. Once fully developed all of these organs have and retain their individualities, which are just as distinct as, only far more complex than, those of any aggregate of machines in a given factory which, though all made of similar steel, have a widely different construction and function.

The individualization of parts goes however still farther in the human body. It reaches to the separate constituents of every organ. Thus in the eye the retina, the lens, the iris, the sclera, all have their own individualities and while they all cooperate towards "vision" yet each has its own qualities, its own resistances to harmful agencies, its own *life course* in many respects.

The above, it is becoming clear, applies to every distinct feature of every organ, every part of the body; and the resulting view of the body is that of a vast complex of organs, parts, and features, every one of which has a more or less distinct life course, life history; the whole body and its life course being the resultants of the combined characters and potentialities of all these components.

The light on this subject is not yet anywhere near complete. It is a field the real exploration of which is still in its beginnings. But it has already become possible not only definitely to recognize the major facts themselves but also, in rough, to follow out the life courses of some of the individual features.

There opens here a new and great field for future researches the eventual results of which may be of much medical as well as scientific consequence. For the life courses of the different parts do not always run parallel or synchronously. A part, and even a whole organ or a system of organs, may run out its life course before others and this may affect other parts or organs and even the whole body.

Thus the whole living human organism may be viewed as a wonderfully complex and coordinated set of machineries and parts each one of which, while never independent, is a unit that possesses its own hereditary endowments, its own course of existence and function, its own youth, adult stage, senescence and termination. Wherever any of these units is not of prime or vital importance, as in the case of the innumerable hollows, processes, appendages, small glands, tactile corpuscles, the hair, etc., and even in cases of such valuable organs as those of sight or

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hearing, the teeth, the spleen, the organs of reproduction, the superficial portions of the brain—their natural or normal end does not affect directly the end of the whole organism. But when any of the indispensable machinery, such as that of circulation, breathing, digestion, elimination, or the deeper brain centers, fails, such a failure is inevitably fatal to the whole system. The chain of existence of the living body may well be said to be only as strong and lasting as is the weakest link of its essential organs.

The life stories of some of the parts of the human body as already said are in the rough already fairly well known, of some have been traced but recently, and of many others remain to be studied. Of those more or less known already there may be adduced a number of good examples. One of these is the hair, particularly that of the head, and its pigmentation. It is not generally appreciated that, as in the case of the teeth, the human body has two consecutive outfits or sets of hair, one early and of a short, the other later and of longer duration. The first "outfit" is that of the fine hair known as the *lanugo*. This appears during the fetal life, has reached its maximum development before birth, and is shed soon after. The "permanent" hair begins to develop partly before but mostly after birth; in some parts of the body it does not appear until at puberty (pubis, axillae), in others still later (moustache, beard), and in still others it does not become pronounced until late in life (ears, nostrils, moles, etc.).

After its appearance the life history of the permanent hair presents curious differences according to the different parts of the body. The hair of the head begins to "age" and more or less of it even to die sometimes before even the adult stage of life is reached; and it has often, in civilized man, in the males, disappeared largely long before the body itself has reached the end of its existence. The moustache and beard on the other hand, though aging, are never shed under normal conditions and keep on growing throughout the life of the person; and the same is true of the hair on all other parts of the body where it occurs. There are interesting differences in most of this between the white man and the colored races and even between the civilized and uncivilized branches of the white race itself. In addition the hair—that of the head in particular—shows, in those contingents of the white race where the hair is of lighter color, an interesting life course in this color, i.e., in pigmentation. Thus in many of the children of the northwestern (nordic) European groups the hair is very light to almost colorless; but from infancy on there will be a gradual progressive darkening until the hair may reach a medium or even darker brown shade; and while this is still going on there begins in individual hairs,

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which gradually increase in number, a de-pigmentation or graying which means the senescence of the hair, and which progresses until all the hair on the head is gray or even white. But even this does not complete the picture, for from childhood on individual hairs of the head have run their life course, died, and been shed, to be replaced by others. It is very probable that not one hair of the original second ("permanent") growth remains on the head throughout the life of the individual, if this is not shortened by some disease or accident. The hair on the face and other parts of the body does not behave, or behaves but slightly, in this manner.

Another interesting life history is that of the eye, and that both as regards its structure and pigmentation. Under entirely normal conditions the convexity of the lens begins to change from about the 40th year onward and with it changes the vision. The retina, as the individual progresses in age, loses slowly in its sensitiveness and endurance. As to color, the sclera or "the white of the eye" is at birth bluish, later on white, in old age more or less discolored or yellowish. And the color of the iris, even if it does not change materially in childhood or about puberty, as it occasionally does, loses after the middle of the adult period both in color and in brilliancy.

The life history of the teeth is well known and it too offers much that is interesting. The first or milk denture begins to develop about or before the middle of the first year of life and is complete before or by the end of the third year. There are 20 teeth and these are of somewhat different character from those of the permanent denture. They have but a short life duration and begin to be shed by the absorption of their roots by or even before the sixth year. The "permanent" teeth begin to erupt at from the fourth to the seventh year. They will be normally 32 in number and will finish their eruption at from the 17th to the 30th year of age—generally later in civilized man than in the primitive. Among many primitive people, barring accidents, the set will last, though the crowns be more or less worn off, until the death of the individual. But in peoples of sedentary habits and among civilized man the teeth manifest an inherent weakness as a result of which they become, as life advances, more and more subject to caries and other troubles that lead to their elimination. Consequently in a great many older individuals they have to be replaced by artificial dentures. They have "died" before, and at times long before, the end of the whole organism.

Highly interesting and important are the life histories of the chief internal organs of reproduction. These organs, which begin to function between the 11th and 18th year, run their complete life course in the female by or before

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the age of 50; in the male they remain functional longer but here too they are subject to gradual weakening, loss of function, and even loss of substance.

The bones of the body, too, have their life cycle, collectively as well as individually; and even the various secondary developments on each bone have their separate life histories. The bones in general originate, from the third fetal month onward, in membrane or cartilage, and within certain correlations each has its own course of growth and changes which will be finished at different times during the developing period, or during the life, of the individual. As a rule all the constructive and modifying changes will be finished before 50 and from that time on —in some parts such as the skull even before—there start and proceed the changes of senility. There is a progressive absorption of the inorganic constituents of the bones with consequent diminution in weight, and there is eventually a gradual loss even in the structural parts so that the bones get thinner and diminish in other dimensions. There is no actual end or "death," but the bones in cases become so fragile that they break under even moderate stresses. This indirectly may lead to the death of the whole organism.

Some exceedingly interesting life courses may be observed in various special features which in the course of organic evolution have developed on the different bones. Up to lately such life histories of the individual parts could not be studied in anywhere near their entirety due to lack of materials, particularly those of the growing period. This difficulty has now been overcome to a large extent in the great collection of human skeletal material gathered in the course of the last 30 years in the United States National Museum. This collection contains now the bones of many thousands of individuals of all ages, from the fetal period to the most advanced age, and offers unprecedented opportunities for such researches as are here dealt with.

Within the last few years one of the especially interesting features of the thigh bone has received particular attention. The feature in question is a peculiar and marked hollow located on the postero-lateral aspect of the upper portion of the shaft of the femur and known as "the hypotrochanteric fossa." It was studied not only in thousands of human bones of all stages of life but also in the apes and other mammals. The results have just been published by the Smithsonian Institution.[1] The details of this study are of interest only to the scientist but the gist of the conclusions is quite intelligible to wider circles and contains much of interest. It is as follows:

The hypotrochanteric fossa, a

[1] *The Hypotrochanteric Fossa of the Femur.* By Aleš Hrdlička, Smiths. Misc. Coll., Vol. 92, No. 1, Wash., 1934, 49 pp., 14 pl.

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curious depression in the thigh-bones of man, the gorilla, the chimpanzee, and the orang-utan, emerges as a sort of "index of evolution."

The study of the fossa is the first practical instance in anatomy and anthropology of viewing on an adequate number of specimens the full life history of a definite feature of human morphology.

There are now indications—in some instances, or to some degree, definite proofs—that every other single separate organ or part of the human body, and every human function, too, has its own extensive and highly interesting life history, a history connected in its origins with human derivations and antiquity, and ending either in advancing regression and apparent preparation for disappearance; or in seeming tranquillity; or in some degree of progressiveness toward a greater representation.

The realization of these conditions opens a vast and intensely attractive field for coming researches. The studies of human variation and those of the life histories—or perhaps they should be called existence histories—of the innumerable components of human structure and functions are the most alluring realms of human anatomy, physiology, and anthropology of the future.

In the great apes the hypotrochanteric fossa serves a definite purpose as a place of attachment for one of the large muscles. It shows a progressive development with size, as would normally be expected of any physical feature, until the individual has reached full growth. Quite often it is missing altogether in the young but invariably appears in adult bones. In man, however, it has no function at all, or a very minor one. It may make its first appearance as early as the fourth month after birth. The striking fact is that it attains its greatest development—which in man may be quite small—before maturity and then begins to disappear. Sometimes it undergoes its entire development and deterioration during childhood. Apparently the fossa was derived by both men and the apes from a common ancestry. The body of the ape developed in a way that made the fossa an essential feature throughout life. Consequently its growth curve is roughly comparable to that of the whole complex of organs making up the individual animal. Man's development was in a different direction. If the fossa served any purpose at all it was in the early years of the individual. Once the body had attained its full growth the hollow in the thigh bone was apparently worthless. Consequently its whole life history occurs in a relatively brief period. It is like a story within a story. Curiously enough the bones of the human precursor, Pithecanthropus, and those of the various Neanderthaler specimens show no essential difference from those

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of modern man. There appear to be slight race and sex differences in the life course of the hollow in human bones, the significance of which is somewhat obscure.

Just where this line of studies will ultimately lead is as yet hard to conjecture. Certain it is that it will greatly augment the light upon the structure as well as the functions of our body, which will correspondingly enlarge the scientific basis for future steps and means for the safe-guarding and facilitation of further propitious developments of this complex body of ours with its innumerable dependent yet more or less individualistic components.

It is only too true that of all the major natural achievements the live human body with its many components and functions is the greatest yet in general still among the least known entities. How many men and women are there, even among the better educated, who know the names and locations alone of their principal organs and bones. They know the clothes but not the wearer, even though the latter is themselves. Science is much in advance of this yet even to science many things human are still unknown or not understood; but every piece of research, such as that dealt with in this article, enhances the appreciation of the complexity, organization, coordination, and effectiveness of the living human body, with its numberless still more or less recognizable records-of-the-past and its still very real and inspiring prospects for the future.

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Fellowships for Graduate Study Abroad

A LIMITED number of fellowships and assistantships are administered under the international student exchanges of the Institute of International Education, for American men and women, preferably under 30, for graduate study abroad. The Institute also administers the fellowships offered by the American Field Service for study in France and that of the Germanistic Society of America for study in Germany. In France, Italy, and Spain fellowships are usually granted on a direct exchange basis. Married candidates are not considered for the grants in Germany and France and preference is given to unmarried candidates for all the other countries.

A limited number of fellowships covering tuition fees are offered by the Austro-American Institute of Education for study at the government institutions of higher learning in Austria, including the state academies of art and music. The Czechoslovak Ministry of Education offers fellowships providing tuition, board, and lodging, or an equivalent stipend, for study at the government institutions of

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higher learning in Prague, Brno, and Bratislava, including the state academies of art and music. The Hungarian Ministry of Education offers fellowships covering tuition, with room and board in a student dormitory. These fellowships are for study at government institutions of higher learning in Budapest, including the state academies of art, drama, and music; at the universities of Szeged, Pécs, and Debrecen, and at the Biological Research Institute at Tihany. The Spanish and Italian governments offer fellowships covering fees, board, and lodging, and permitting study at the various state institutions of higher learning. Under the Swiss American Student Exchange, tuition fellowships have been offered by the universities of Basel, Berne, Fribourg, Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, and Zurich; the Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zurich; the Handelshochschule, St. Gallen; and the Institut Universitaire des Hautes Etudes Internationales, Geneva. These have been supplemented by five or six specific fellowships for study at Geneva, Zurich, Basel, St. Gallen, and Fribourg.

The Ministry of National Education and the universities of France offer several fellowships, in most cases covering board, lodging, and tuition. They are available for men or women at the universities of Grenoble, Lyon, Strasbourg, and Toulouse. For women only there are available two full fellowships at the Ecole Normale Supérieure de Sèvres and one at the University of Paris. At the University of Bordeaux the four available fellowships are for men only.

The German universities have established a number of fellowships, in most cases covering board, lodging, and tuition, available at the leading universities and at a number of technological institutes.

For further information about these opportunities write the Secretary, Student Bureau, Institute of International Education, 2 West 45th Street, New York City. For information concerning fellowships and scholarships in addition to those offered by the Institute send for copy of a bulletin "Fellowships and scholarships open to American students for study in foreign countries." A nominal charge of 25 cents is made to cover cost of service and mailing.

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Annual Science Exhibition

American Association for the Advancement of Science

F. C. BROWN
Director of Exhibits

THE exhibition committee for the Annual Science Exhibition, F. C. Brown, Owen Cattell, Austin H. Clark, Burton E. Livingston, and Sam Woodley, has arranged an unusually large number of exhibits of high quality for the December meeting of the A. A. A. S., the Mellon Institute, Pittsburgh. These include exceptional research exhibits—displays and

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demonstrations from the research laboratories of three Nobel prize winners, Dr. Thomas H. Morgan, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, and Dr. A. H. Compton; a comprehensive selection of books, the output of science for 1934; a display of newly developed pieces of apparatus for physics, chemistry, and biology; and a demonstration by the department of zoology of the University of Pittsburgh portraying the scope and spirit of modern animal biology, the several great generalizations that form the basis of present-day knowledge in this field being presented in graphic form against a background of early misconceptions. The interpretation and application of research now in progress and of discoveries resulting therefrom will be illustrated by exhibits of the materials and techniques in general use in the teaching of biology. The nucleus of the University of Pittsburgh's physics exhibit consists of many experiments illustrating some of the fundamental laws of physics and so set up that after being performed they return automatically to their original condition, ready for the next observer. These demonstration experiments are concerned with light, wave motion and sound, and the application of physics to the automobile. Other interesting experiments illustrate the work done in certain fields in which the University specializes—high temperature measurements, sound, and the development of shatter-proof glass. A display of original developments in laboratory apparatus is also included.

The Astronomical Section of the Academy of Science and Arts is planning an unusual amateur astronomical exhibit that will include two completed amateur telescopes and other equipment and material used in connection with telescopes. Throughout the exhibition, grinding and polishing of telescope glass will be in progress and a telescope mirror and objective under Knife-Edge and Ronchi tests for curvature. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology will have some new demonstrations of the Edgerton high speed stroboscope for examining rotary and vibratory motions and a new automatic device whereby a mechanism may be made automatically to follow any type of curve and used to control the operation of machinery. Among the exhibits from the Smithsonian Institution will be Austin H. Clark's collection of butterfly oddities. The Committee on Scientific Exhibit of the American Medical Association is cooperating with the American Dietetic Association in presenting an exhibit consisting of photographs, transparencies, models, charts, and literature showing various phases of the problem of nutrition but dealing especially with reduction diets, over-feeding diets, and diets for the correction of constipation and diarrhea. Dr. F. G. Brickwedde of the Bureau of Standards has engaged the coop-

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eration of the significant laboratories working in his field and as a consequence there will be a showing of the properties of the heavy isotope of hydrogen and demonstrations of apparatus used in the investigations. The national Geographic Society will exhibit a group of instruments and pieces of equipment used in the stratosphere flight last July (sponsored by the Society and the United States Army Air Corps) and a model of the gondola used during the flight. Among other new and interesting scientific exhibits there will be a demonstration of Dr. Clinton J. Davisson's vice-presidential address giving objective consideration to electron defraction.

Various commercial concerns have also arranged exhibits of great interest to scientists. Among these is a display of 5 or 6 grams of Deuterium Oxide "heavy water." One company will demonstrate the Schilling methods of blood counting, blood changes in various infections, and microscopic specimens of blood and blood parasites stained with Giemsa stain (a stain accepted by the Commission on Standardization of Biological Stains). Another will feature such newly developed equipment for laboratory workers in chemistry, physics, and biology as a photelometer, a photo-electric analytical device; a thermelometer, a new and highly sensitive instrument used for following the course of body temperature in the "artificial" fever method of therapeutic treatment; an impedance bridge, a new instrument for electrolytic conductivity measurements involving the simplification of the principle of balancing the plate currents of two vacuum tubes against each other; and some new developments in high vacuum equipment and technique. Still other commercial exhibits will include a new type of museum jar for displaying anatomical preparations and new developments in electrical recording instruments.

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Sunshine and the Economy of the Sea

GEORGE L. CLARKE

Division of Biology, Harvard University and Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution

THE rôle played by sunlight in the nutrition of plants and animals in the sea is one of the problems being investigated by the "Atlantis," the research vessel of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution. The most abundant plants in the sea are the diatoms, one of the smallest types in existence. Diatoms live freely floating in the water and when a bottle of sea water containing them is held up to the light they can be seen like dust particles in a beam of sunlight.

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Each diatom consists of but a single green cell and each individual, like its terrestrial cousins, manufactures its own food with the aid of sunlight. These tiny plants are found in countless trillions in all parts of the sea. Anyone who has crossed the ocean will realize that the space available for the growth of these pelagic plants is vastly greater than the shore area where seaweeds can grow. This accounts for the otherwise unbelievable fact that the bulk of diatoms in the sea is actually much greater than the bulk of all other marine plants put together.

Diatoms form the ultimate source of food for most of the animals which live in the sea. Small fish, which fill the maws of larger ones, themselves live on low forms of animal life, and these are nourished by consuming diatoms or other types of primitive plants. Thus the expression "all flesh is grass," familiar to every farmer, has been paraphrased for the fisherman in the words "all fish is diatoms."

All plants and animals which are either too small or too weak to swim any considerable distance and which drift about with the currents are spoken of as the plankton. The plants of the plankton are called the phytoplankton and consist of several primitive types but chiefly of diatoms. The zooplankton, or animals of the plankton, is composed of a varied assortment of small forms such as jellyfish, tiny worms, and many kinds of shrimp-like organisms. Bacteria and protozoa also exist suspended in the water although we are only just beginning to understand the part they play in the economy of the sea. Unicellular organisms of this type are known as mannoplankton and live on the break-down products of huge plants and animals.

The dominant animals of the zooplankton are intermediate in size, being about as large as ants. These are the copepods, a simple type of crustacean, which exist everywhere in the sea, sometimes in such great numbers as actually to give the water a reddish color. Copepods feed on the phytoplankton, or on the mannoplankton which depends, probably in large measure, upon the phytoplankton for its subsistence.

The zooplankton is thus the intermediate link between the larger animals of the sea and the green fodder — the phytoplankton — upon which they ultimately depend for food. We shall consider shortly the conditions of sunlight in the water which make possible the production of diatoms and the other kinds of phytoplankton. The relationships which exist among the thousands of marine organisms are obviously not known in any precise way. But we shall not go far wrong if we think of the main food-chain in the sea as just described.

The exhaustive investigation of the life histories of many important commercial fish has shown

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that this generality is fundamentally true but that the series of successively dependent organisms involved is slightly different in each case. For some fish there are ten or more links in the food-chain, whereas in many species the young fry just hatched from the egg live on diatoms directly. Certain kinds of whales, and the herring, mackerel, alewife, pilchard, and shad are known to feed almost exclusively on copepods. Other types of commercial fish feed upon smaller members of their own tribe or upon bottom-living animals such as crabs, snails, mussels, and clams. Both types of prey depend for their own subsistence largely upon the zooplankton which, as we have seen, lives on the phytoplankton. The production of diatoms and other pelagic plants is accordingly all-important in the economy of the sea.

Since sunlight is essential for growth we may now inquire how much illumination is to be found beneath the ocean's surface. When a beam of light strikes the surface of the water part of it is reflected upwards and never enters the water at all. This accounts for the glare we have all experienced at the seashore. The illumination present just beneath the surface is found to vary from less than 50 per cent to over 90 per cent of that occurring just over the surface, according to the clearness of the water and roughness of the sea. The beam of light which enters the water is bent towards the perpendicular, due to refraction, but the light rays present beneath the surface vary greatly in direction. This is because the surface of the ocean acts very much as a diffusing screen. Beneath the surface, scattering by the water particles themselves carries this initial effect still further. Thus, although the light in the water is directed chiefly downward, great irregularity occurs and the deeper we go the more diffuse the illumination becomes. Recent measurements made by Dr. W. R. G. Atkins in the English Channel showed that at a depth of 75 feet the light traveling in a horizontal direction was half as great as that directed vertically downwards. As a result of scattering and absorption the illumination becomes rapidly weaker as the depth is increased. The reader will recall that Dr. William Beebe in his spectacular dive in the Bathysphere in the clear water off Bermuda reported that at a depth of 400 feet there was barely enough light to read ordinary print.

Some of the component colors of sunlight are reduced in intensity faster than others. Red light with its long wave-length and ultraviolet light with its very short wave-length are absorbed very quickly. In the clearest ocean water blue light penetrates the most effectively but in coastal waters green light has been found to surpass blue light. As we go down in the water the red, orange, and yel-

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low components of sunlight are progressively filtered out, leaving only the green and the blue, and in the clear waters of the open ocean a point is reached where the blue rays alone remain. Somehow or other a notion has become prevalent that ultra-violet light penetrates deeper into the sea than any other component of the sun's radiation. Actual observations have shown, however, that only a few yards below the surface of the water ultra-violet light becomes too weak to measure. It is fortunate that this is so, for strong ultra-violet radiation has an extremely damaging effect upon planktonic organisms.

This selective action of sea water upon the sun's spectrum accounts for the color which the ocean appears to us to have. Part of the light which reaches us has been reflected from the very surface. Here the shorter wave-lengths—blue and green—are always scattered more effectively than the longer ones. In addition, part of the light has penetrated beneath the surface and is reflected to our eyes by particles at various depths in the water. As we have seen, in passing through the water the light is deprived progressively of its longer wave-length components. As a result the clearer the water is the farther the rays penetrate before they are reflected to us; and the longer their journey is in the water, the more completely are the red, yellow, and finally the green rays removed. We can now understand why it is that from the deck of a liner in mid-ocean the water looks blue, whereas in the more turbid coastal waters it appears more greenish. Since on cloudy days the light from the sky is gray, the colors reflected to us then obviously are much duller.

The greatest depth at which the presence of any trace of daylight has been actually recorded is 3,300 feet, an observation made in the extremely clear water of the Sargasso Sea. At this depth Dr. Helland-Hansen obtained a slight blackening of a highly sensitive photographic plate after an exposure of 80 minutes, but at a depth of 5,600 feet, or slightly over a mile, a plate was unaffected after an exposure of 120 minutes. For practical purposes we may consider the water at this depth "completely dark," and from this level down to the bottom night reigns supreme year in and year out. The only light found in this gloomy area emanates from the weird rays shining forth from the luminescent organs of certain deep-sea animals. Dr. Beebe says that when luminescent fish flash their lights before the window of the Bathysphere the effect is almost blinding in the inky blackness of the surroundings.

The depth at which the intensity of sunlight is reduced to an immeasurably small value differs in various parts of the ocean according to the transparency of the

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water. In recent years several careful investigations of the transparency of ocean waters in both the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans have been carried out, using photo-electric cells enclosed in heavy, water-tight cases. Carefully insulated cables lead to measuring instruments on the deck of the ship. Since the electric current flowing through the cables is proportional to the intensity of light reaching the photo-electric cell, the strength of the illumination at each depth is instantly known. By the use of special filters in connection with certain types of photo-electric cells the instruments can be made sensitive to single colors. In this way the penetration of each part of the sun's spectrum has been studied separately.

A convenient way of expressing the transparency of any particular body of water is to state the depth at which the light intensity is reduced to one per cent of its value just over the surface. This corresponds roughly to the change from direct sunlight to the illumination of an ordinary room. Observations from the "Atlantis" showed that at a point between Nova Scotia and Cape Cod the blue component of daylight is reduced to one per cent at a depth of about 100 feet. At this same location the red component suffers a corresponding diminution at about 35 feet. Out in the Sargasso Sea we found that blue light could penetrate to almost 500 feet before it was reduced to one per cent of its surface value. On the other hand, blue light cannot penetrate more than 30 feet into the comparatively muddy water of Buzzards Bay before it has lost 99 per cent of its intensity.

Enough has now been said to make it clear that in general the upper stratum of ocean water is well illuminated but that the intensity of light diminishes very rapidly with depth and varies tremendously from place to place. Marine organisms may be divided into those which can withstand the intense irradiation near the surface, those which thrive in intermediate illuminations, and those which are adapted to spend their lives in the dark. The precise depth at which a particular species is found varies according to the time of year and the transparency of the water in that locality.

Some animals—particularly the large, active forms—can withstand a great range of intensities but many of the small, delicate types are extremely sensitive to even slight changes of illumination. The copepods, for example, are adapted to live in weak light and are quickly killed if exposed to too bright sunshine. A most extraordinary adaptation has arisen among copepods, apparently in relation to their sensitivity to light. Every night millions of these tiny animals swarm towards the surface but no sooner has dawn touched the waters than down they swim in a solid phalanx. The higher the sun goes

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in the heavens the deeper the copepods sink in the water. When the "Atlantis" tows a fine silk net through the surface water at noon no copepods are found in the meshes but the same haul repeated the following night catches literally thousands of them. Careful investigation with specially designed nets has shown that these little crustaceans will sometimes migrate more than 300 feet vertically twice each day. When we stop to think that copepods are less than a quarter of an inch long the magnitude of this diurnal migration is really staggering. Suppose we had to climb a distance equal to 15,000 times our height, daily!

We find that the different species of plants are limited to zones where the total intensity of light is suitable—just as on land—and that plants in the sea cannot grow where the sunshine is too weak or entirely absent. Consequently there is a definite lower limit to the distribution of marine plants such as does not exist for the animals. This does not mean that deep-sea animals do not depend upon plants. Rather, they devour the dead bodies of plants or of other animals which have sunk down from the daylight zones. Plants which live attached to the bottom have never been found growing at depths greater than about 400 feet—and these only in the tropics. It is not correct, therefore, to think of the floors of the great oceans as carpeted with seaweeds. The phytoplankton is similarly limited to the upper few hundred feet of the sea. There is then really a mere skimming of plants over the surface of the ocean and the space occupied by these essential organisms is exceedingly small compared with the whole volume of the seas in which animals may roam. Yet if it were not for the diatoms the ocean would be as lifeless as the Gobi Desert.

Since the energy from the sun is essential for all life in the sea, sunshine may be thought of as a necessary agent in the production of pearls, petroleum, and other valuable things made by or from marine organisms. The formation of the vitamin D, found in cod-liver oil, is an example of a process in which light is involved in still another way. Ultra-violet light from the sun, although quickly absorbed by the sea water, is nevertheless sufficiently strong in the uppermost layers to form vitamin D in the bodies of planktonic organisms. Since these primitive organisms are the ultimate food of the larger animals of the sea through the channels already described, this valuable substance eventually reaches commercial fish such as the cod. Thus it is the light from the sun which in the last analysis is responsible for the health-giving properties of fish liver oils. Far from being wasted the sunshine shed on the leagues of dancing ocean waves makes possible the rich harvest of the sea.

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Discussion

Library Appropriations by the Back Door

To the Editor:

THOUGH small colleges can't expect to have Harvard College libraries, something can be done for the further encouragement of scholarship in small institutions. Agriculturalists point out the desirability of applying a little fertilizer directly to each plant when it is too costly to fertilize the whole field. Something of this nature can be done for college instructors by attaching an annual allowance to their salaries for the purchase of books for the library, of their own choosing, in the particular field in which they happen to be working. Such acquisitions might not conduce to a "well-rounded" library collection or add much of interest to that vague personage which librarians call "the general reader," but they surely would stimulate the productive capacity of the persons who thus chose material of definite value to them in their spheres of interest. Therefore to college administrators, philanthropists, organizations, and all others who are concerned about the intellectual anemia to which small-college faculties are undoubtedly subject, I suggest that in addition to (or perhaps instead of) raising their salaries or reducing their teaching loads or sending them off to conventions or on sabbatical leaves, each college teacher be given a few hundred or even one hundred dollars every year for library material to meet his individual requirements. If under this "forcing" he still fails to bear scholarly fruit I should say he is hopeless and, like the barren fig tree, may be safely cut down.

H. CLAY REED.

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To the Editor:

I HAVE just returned from a long two months' trip to the Pacific Coast during which time I visited many colleges and universities. As one who has always believed in seeing America first I approve most heartily of Mr. Lester's suggestion on page 419 of the last number in his article, "A Critique of Our Colleges," that the students of American Colleges should attend some other institution for a year at least besides the one in which they have matriculated. This does not in any way minimize the value of a year's study abroad, for I am a firm believer in that also, but "See America first."

C. A. BROWNE.

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GEORGE H. HARTWIG, Dana College, Blair, Nebraska, is at work on a study of the Geneva

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version of the English Bible, the "Breeches Bible." He hopes to include in his study a catalog of editions preserved in libraries in the United States, from the first edition of the New Testament (1557) and the first edition of the complete Bible (1560) to the final edition of 1644. Although he has received reports from about 1000 librarians he fears he has overlooked libraries which own such copies and therefore earnestly invites librarians to assist him in making his data as nearly complete as possible.

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The Magazine in the Making

THE Editor wishes that every reader of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR could have been present in some invisible manner at a recent meeting of the Editorial Board. For nearly four hours Harry Woodburn Chase, John Erskine, John H. Finley, Christian Gauss, Will D. Howe, Alvin Johnson, Dumas Malone, William Allan Neilson, J. Herman Randall, Jr., and Frederick J. E. Woodbridge criss-crossed a table with wit and wisdom, banter and emphatic opinion, criticism and commendation, general principles and specific suggestions for subjects and authors. The members of the Board are greatly encouraged by the support given THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR by author and reader and by the Triennial Council and Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa and they believe the magazine can be made still more deserving of this support. Suggestions are invited from all readers.

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The format has been improved by a sub-committee of the Board to make a more attractive cover and type page, but a continued improvement in content is the primary objective. To this end all members of the Editorial Board are reading articles continually. The very idea of building a great magazine without thought of personal or organizational profit seems to generate a spirit of creative interest which dominates the Board meetings. The interplay of these personalities upon one another as they discuss the problems and personalities of the day and the personalities and values of the ages is a rich experience, which fortunately the readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR can share at least indirectly as the ideals and ideas are realized in these pages.

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